



**THE EARLY MUGHALS: POLITICAL AND
CULTURAL INTERACTIONS WITH THE RAJPUTS
AND THE AFGHANS**

THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

**Doctor of Philosophy
IN
HISTORY**

BY

SABISTAN BANO

**UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
PROF. YAQUB ALI KHAN**

**CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY
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Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "The Early Mughals: Political and Cultural Interactions with the Rajputs and the Afghans" is the original research work of Ms. Sabistan Bano completed under my supervision. The thesis is suitable for submission for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

(Prof. Yaqub Ali Khan)
Supervisor

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(Sabistan Bano)



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ABSTRACT

In 1494, 11-year-old Babur ascended his father's throne. The Mughal Empire is conventionally said to have been founded in 1526 by Babur, a warrior chieftain, to defeat the Sultan of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi, in the first battle of Panipat. Babur and Humayun struggled against heavy odds to create the Mughal domain. In the battle of Panipat, the Afghans fought bravely, but they had never faced new artillery. Babur's knowledge of western and Central Asian war tactics and his brilliant leadership proved decisive in his victory.

At the time of invasion of Babur, the social and religious conditions were deplorable in Punjab. Many saints and reformers were doing their utmost to eliminate the evils of the time. They were doing their best to patch up the differences between the Hindus and the Muslims and thereby to bring the two communities closer.

Babur's decision to keep a diary may have been influenced by just such self-awareness-or perhaps he wrote it because he believed that in the prevailing turmoil of his early life it would be up to him to record his own dynastic history.

Babur also presented the picture of Hindustan. His thought of Hindustan is frequently transitory and apparent. He has a great power of observation and he was not only interested in the geography and history, flora and fauna, forts and palaces, temples and Khanqahs of the country, but also in the houses, dress and diet, manners and customs of the people.

Babur attacked Ibrahim Lodi, on 12th April 1526 at Panipat, a small village situated on north of Delhi. When Babur crossed the Indus in mid-December, Lahore was once again at least nominally under the control of the aged Daulat Khan, and having lost loyalty Lodi governor who had invited Babur into India in his absence he had driven out Babur's officers from the city.

The battle of Panipat affirmed Babur's superior generalship, military technique, excellent kill and ability to chain effectively the artillery with cavalry. Babur won the battle because of his new strategy, use of fire arms, and superior cavalry. Reference should also be complete of his better info service and his success in upholding his line of message with the base and in making satisfactory requirements for meeting the necessities of his soldiers. As well, Babur's aggressive deed and concentrated and co-

operative turning on the part of his men safeguarded pivotal win. There is no disbelief that the first battle of Panipat was one of the supreme battles eternally clashed on the soil of Hindustan.

Rana Sangram Singh, the pioneer of the Rajput alliance and a more imposing rival than the Lodi chief. Babur's prosperity at Khanwa not just solidly situated him on the honoured position of Ibrahim, yet in addition set up his authority in Hindustan and “the menace of Rajput supremacy which had loomed was removed once and for all.” Another outcome of Babur's triumph was that from now on Hindustan turned into the centre point of his activities.

When Humayun ascended the throne he was at the age of 23. Like so many of the medieval rulers, he signalized his accession by a generous gesture towards his subjects by retaining the officers of the preceding reign in their respective posts and rewarding his ardent supporters by an increment of salary and conferment of titles.

Humayun's one problem was from the scheme of Bahadur Shah of Gujrat was to go a great source of difficulty to Humayun. Gujrat was turn to independent under Maji-ul-Mulk who got the royat title of Muzaffar, after the break-up of the Tughlaq Empire it was towards the end of the fourteenth century.

A noteworthy character Farid Khan (Sher Shah) was the founder of the Sur Empire in North India. He was born in 1486 in Sasaram. He killed a tiger with bravery; by this bravery he got the title of ‘Sher Khan’ from Bahar Khan. Sher Shah was the first monarch of the new Afghan Empire made up by his own efforts.

Humayun could only live in Bengal for three or four months, more than half of which was captured by rain, during which it is difficult to solve. Thus, the emperor's migration in Bengal was less than that which he had accomplished during this period. Upon entering Bengal, they devastated the whole country with wars and wasted due to deprivation of Afghans.

After two full years of constitutional absence, Mughal Emperor returned to Agra in 1539 A.D. His return to the seat of his government was not after any hostile or rude display from any corner.

The battle of Kannauj prevents us to briefly review Sher Khan's activities during the brief interim. After his victory over the Mughals, Sher Khan made his projection valid for the sovereignty by the formal politician's celebrations, and officially titled Sher Shah, Sultan-i-Adil, after this he had already sent Jalal Khan Jalu and Haji Khan batni with an Afghan separation to quench the Mughal influence in Bengal, and himself soon followed them. Mughal governor bravely faced Afghan hostesses but he could not stay for a long time.

Sher Shah Suri had died in 1545; his son and successor Islam Shah died in 1554. These two deaths left the dynasty reeling and disintegrating. This was a perfect opportunity for the Mughals to march back to India. The Mughal Emperor Humayun gathered a vast army and attempted the challenging task of retaking the throne in Delhi. Humayun placed the army under the leadership of Bairam Khan, it turned out proved himself a great tactician.

At the battle of Sirhind in 1555, the armies of Sikandar Shah Suri were decisively defeated and the Mughal Empire was re-established in India. On the evening of 21 Jan 1556, Humayun was walking on the terrace of his library at Sher Mandal in Delhi. Unfortunately slipped upon the marble, and he fell headlong from the top to the bottom of the stair. He was taken up insensible and laid upon his bed. He died on 24 Jan.1556.

History is, to be sure, an evidence of human civilization in its differed perceptions from the times of furthest remnant. It targets uncovering in the correct point of view the life of the individuals at various stages and timeframes earlier. The historical backdrop of a particular nation manages the political activities of its family, their strategic connections, social propensities and customs, culture, art and architecture.

The Mughal Emperors believed that the king was not only the symbol of political power but also the focusing centre of culture which cannot be dissociated from its historical perspective. Thus, the Mughals influenced not only the politics of India but also its cultural history.

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INTRODUCTION

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The proposed theme “The Early Mughals: Political and Cultural Interactions with the Rajputs and the Afghans” is chosen to made strive to portray the political and cultural relations of Early Mughals (Babur and Humayun) with the Rajputs and the Afghans.

In 1321, a successful revolt introduced the Tughlaq dynasty, which lasted until 1398, when it was swept away by the Mughals under Timur or Tamerlane, who marched through India committing frightful atrocities. The Sayyids and Lodis succeeded the Tughluqs, and in 1526 Babur invaded India, and after crushing the forces of the Delhi king at Panipat, founded the Mughal Empire which lasted, at any rate in name, until 1857.

The Mughal Empire is conventionally said to have been founded in 1526 by Babur, a warrior chieftain, to defeat the Sultan of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi, in the first battle of Panipat. Babur and Humayun struggled against heavy odds to create the Mughal domain. In the battle of Panipat, the Afghans fought bravely, but they had never faced new artillery. Babur’s knowledge of western and Central Asian war tactics and his brilliant leadership proved decisive in his victory.

The Rajputs under Rana Sanga of Mewar threatened to revive their power in northern India. Babur assigned the unconquered territories to his nobles and led an expedition himself against the Rana. He crushed Rana’s forces at Khanwa; Babur then continued his campaigns to subjugate the Rajputs of Chanderi. When Afghan risings turned him to the east, he had to fight, among others, the joint forces of the Afghans and the Sultan of Bengal in 1529 at Ghagra. Babur won the battles.

The Mughal Emperors believed that the king was not only the symbol of political power but also the focusing centre of culture which cannot be divorced from its historical perspective. Thus, the Mughals influenced not only the politics of India but also its cultural history.

The Mughals also recognized the fact that the people of Hindustan whom they had conquered, themselves had a very rich tradition of cultural achievements to which they frequently gave recognition in the fulfillment of their creative instincts. The Hindus on their part, on account of close and constant contacts with the Muslims, were slowly developing an appreciation of Muslim philosophical thoughts, literature and arts. And

even before the Mughals came, they were playing a significant role in the administrative and artistic activities of their Muslim rulers.

In a way, a process of intermingling between the communities, in which both the Hindus and the Muslims were trying to understand each other, was in progress for quite some time.

The political supremacy in India at the time of the Mughal Conquest in the 16th Century was divided between the Hindus (Rajputs) and the Muslims (Afghans) who were two rival forces. To conquer Hindustan, the Mughals had to wrest it from the Afghans and the Rajputs.

The Afghans were as brave as they were wily and having won power, they were not prepared to part with it easily, and many a field had to be won and lost before they submitted to the Mughals. Theirs was the most stubborn and at the same time, sustained resistance offered to the Mughals. But if the Afghans were brave and wily, the Rajputs were the bravest of the brave and generous to a fault. Their generosity commended itself to the Mughals as their bravery inspired awe. A combination of the two powers-the Afghans and the Rajputs would have been fatal to the Mughals; but that was never to be. The Afghans and the Rajputs could not unite against their common enemy. Neither could each as a people, present a united front against the Mughals.

The Mughals had enough diplomacy to take advantage of the Rajputs generosity and after having impressed the Rajputs by their mettle, they won them over to their side. They made the Rajputs their friends and supporters in their task of conquering the Afghans.

Thus the Mughals found Hindustan under the sway of two powerful people, drew one of them to their side so that they may subjugate the other. India became united under one long-lasting rule and had very prosperous cultural and political years during the Mughal rule.

Generally the history of the Mughals has been studied and examined by political, cultural and economic issues. This work contends the history of Early Mughals (Babur and Humayun) and an attempt to describe the Early Mughal's Political and Cultural relations with the Afghans and the Rajputs. The history of the advent of the Mughals to India contributes to an understanding of the Establishment of the Mughal Empire which

lasted at any rate in name, until 1857. The work has an approach to understanding the political-cultural issues of the early Mughals with the Afghans and the Rajputs.

This study discusses the political aspects of the Early Mughals and the establishment in India. In examining these aspects of Early Mughals and placing these findings in the context of the history of the Political issues of Early Mughals with the Afghans and the Rajputs. By rooting this research in the political history of Early Mughals by studying the war tactics of Babur, battles with the Afghans and the Rajputs, Humayun's victory and downfall, Rise of the Sur Empire, Humayun in Exile, Restoration of the Mughal Empire in India.

The present work is an attempt to trace the socio-cultural life of the Indians during 16th Century, historically to the period of Babur and Humayun. The main objective of the work is to present in an outline the socio-cultural aspects like architecture, painting, music, costumes, ornaments, food and drink, festivals and fairs, women and education.

I have consulted the contemporary and modern works and extensively used in the preparation of this thesis.

Baburnama is a descriptive book and is commonly used by both *Turkish* and *Persian* spoken people. There are four translations of Babur's memoirs, from the original *Turki* texts: Mrs. A.S. Beveridge's *Baburnama (Memoirs of Babur)* has been translated into English from the Hyderabad Codex. I utilized this translation. Her work gives a faithful picture of Babur. She has taken great care to project not only Babur's linguistic skills but also his mind.

A.S. Beveridge remarks in her introduction, "What has kept interested in it alive through some four centuries is the autobiographical presentment of an arresting personality its whole manner, style and diction produce."

The *Waqiat-i-Baburi*, a Persian translation by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan at the order of Emperor Akbar, for the use of his court historian AbulFazl and completed at the end of November 1589. Being a Turkman and well-versed in both *Turki* and *Persian*, Abdur Rahim's work is readable and adheres to the *Turki* original.

Another English translation of Babur's memoirs entitled *Memoirs of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur* was made by Leyden and Erskine. He completed his translation in 1813, and in 1816 he was able to dedicate his complete volume to Elphinstone, but it was published late in 1826. Their works mainly based on Abdur Rahim's Persian translation.

The Bukhara *Baburnama*, translated by Pavet de courteille in two volumes *Memoires de Babur* (Paris 1971).

Two other translations of *Babur-Nama* of Akbar's reign were the work of the Payanda-Hasan of Ghazni and Muhammad-Quli of Hisar. The Bodleian and British Museum Libraries have copies of it.

The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haider Doghlat is a history of the Mughals of Mugholistan. He was Babur's cousin from his mother's side. He became a member of Babur's household at the end of 1509 and remained with him for two years. Mirza Haider was present at Ghizduvan, but could not participate in the battle owing to his illness. He mentioned Babur's surrender of his sister, Khanzada Begum, to Shaibani Khan (1501) which Babur omits to mention. He gives a graphic account of the conspiracy during Babur's absence in Herat to overthrow him and set up in his place Khan Mirza, and how it was suppressed. His work throws light on Babur's character and his literary and cultural achievements. He gives more details about Humayun, and his account of the battle of Kannauj is that of an eye-witness who was himself in command of a wing of the imperial army.

Tabaqat-i-Baburi of Shaikh Zainuddin Khuwafi is an account of Babur's career in Hindustan up to the battle of Khanwa. He was Babur's secretary and *sadr*. His account is almost a paraphrase of *Baburnama*. He briefly describes the conditions of the people of Hindustan, which Babur has omitted. It was written during Babur's life. It was in Persian. It begins from Babur's fifth and last expedition i.e. the battle of Panipat. He also describes other campaigns of Babur.

The *Humayunnama* was written by Babur's daughter Gulbadan Begum. The value of the *Humayunnama* is considerable because Gulbadan was an eye-witness of many of the events that she relates. About those that did not come under her observation, she must have gathered information from persons who participated in them or were eye-witness of them.

Gulbadan was only eight years old when his father died. The chief importance of her work lies in the fact that it throws light on Babur's character and family life. She describes in detail Humayun's illness. She also describes the last advice which Babur gave to Humayun and his chief counsellors. Her account shows that Babur was very fond of his son Humayun and wanted to succeed him. Her account is generally favourable to Humayun on whose request she compiled her work. Gulbadan Begum narrates how natural water, gardens and other sources of joy, festive occasions, Mirza Hindal's marriage, the arrival of the Lodis of Kabul to India and so many things had always appealed to Babur's mind. Humayun had followed the same trend as his father. Gulbadan Begum was Humayun's sister and was the only woman writer of the period.

The *Akbarnama* of Abul Fazl contains useful material, which Abul Fazl obtained from Babur's courtiers, officials and relatives who were still alive in Akbar's time. The *Akbarnama* also throws light on Babur's character and quotes the last advice to his chief nobles appointing Humayun as his successor. He possessed a sound historical imagination that he brought into play while writing the *Akbarnama* and thus throws considerable light on the Mughal culture and military strength.

The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad, his account of Babur's career is extremely brief and sketchy. His description of the Khalifa to secure the succession for Mahdi Khwaja is reliable as it is based on the information he obtained from his father, who was an eye-witness to the events. *Tabqat-i-Akbari* also has a high place among medieval India.

Nizamuddin gives interesting details of (1) Muhammad Sultan and Muhammad Zaman Mirza's activities. (2) Humayun's return journey and negotiations with Sher Khan just before the battle of Chausa and makes a pun on the word Gaur. But even such a careful writer is not free from blemishes; (1) he is usually too plain in his descriptions and lacks in human touch; and (2) one or two of his facts are disputable, e.g., when he makes Humayun responsible for the amputation of the Afghan captives.

The *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Badauni is useful for Babur's Indian campaigns. He gives a brief account of Babur's invasions of India and the battles of Panipat and Khanwa. Badauni provides interesting information about Shaikh Ghaus, Sayyid Rafiuddin, Shaikh Ghuran and few other nobles closely associated with Babur.

Tarikh-i-Farishta of Muhammad Qasim Hindu-Shah supplies a lot of information about several facts. (1) Babur's illness during the last ten months of his reign; (2) the stray verses exchanged between Humayun and Bahadur; (3) Bahadur's prowess in capturing the biggest gun of the time possessed by the Portuguese; (4) his intentions to render some sort of aid to the Maharana of Chittor against Bahadur; (5) the battle of Mahmudabad fought between Askari and Imad-ul-Mulk; (6) the exact date (18th Safar, 944 A.H.), when Humayun started for his last Bengal campaign.

Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat of Jauhar Aftabchi, Jauhar is a contemporary writer. He was Humayun's *Aftabchi* or ewer-bearer and in this menial capacity served him for twenty-five years. He wrote by the command of Akbar when materials were collected for Abul Fazl's well-known chronicle. Jauhar's work is known under several names. It is called *Kitab-i-Jawahir Shahi*, *Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'at*, *Tarikh-i-Humayuni* and *Tarikh-i-Humayun Shahi*. A translation of the *Tazkirat* by Charles Stewart was published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1832.

Tarikh-i-Humayun, this title was not given to them by the author who speaks of them only as a *Mukhtasar*. The *Memoirs* begin with Humayun's flight to Persia in 1543 and come down to the time when they were written, i.e. 1590-91. They appear to have been used very much in compiling the *Akbarnama* though Abul Fazl nowhere acknowledges his debt to Bayazid. Bayazid tells us that nine copies were made of the work two of which were given to Abul Fazl.

Bayazid was in the service of Humayun and had valuable opportunities of acquainting himself with the life-history of that monarch. He is an eye-witness of many things that he relates and the plain and simple manner in which he describes facts lends weight to his narrative. Humayun's invasion of Hindustan in 1555-56 is fully described.

For a better understanding of the existing knowledge in the domain of my research, it is very important to have an overview of major published and popular works in the field.

Radhey Shyam in his work "*Babur*" has shown Babur not only in his triumphant moments but also when he was in trouble, in anger, in grief and exhaustion. Radhey Shyam has given the detail of Babur. He started from his childhood, period of set-backs in Central Asia, the conquest of Hindustan, consolidation, Babur's North-Western and

Central Asian Policy. Radhey Shyam's chapters dealing with Babur's problems and achievements in India are both interesting and illuminating.

Munilal in "*Babur Life and Times*" has furnished great details on the history of Babur. He started from his childhood till the end of the journey. This portrayal of the life of the first of the great Mughals is a modest beginning.

S.K. Banerji in "*Humayun Badshah*" had dealt only with the first ten years of Humayun's reign. He has given details of the life of Humayun, intending to produce a full and definite history of that gifted but unfortunate monarch, the defeat of Humayun at the hands of Sher Shah in 1540.

Rama Shankar Avasthy in "*The Mughal Emperor Humayun*" has covered his entire life. For a complete picture of Humayun's life, Avasthy could not ignore the history of the Sur dynasty. He gives a stirring account of the successes and failures of Humayun.

Ishwari Prasad in "*The Life and Times of Humayun*" has supplied information about Humayun's life. It was consulted and up-to-date history of his reign.

P.N. Ojha in "*Glimpses of Social Life in Mughal India*", he portrayed briefly the salient features of the Indian Social Life during the heyday of the Great Mughal Sovereigns of India.

M.P. Srivastava, "*Social Life under the Great Mughals (1526-1700)*". This work is scientific history on some aspects of the Social Life of the people under the Great Mughals and it depicts the pompous life of the people of the upper class and the nobility and at the same time the life and aspirations of the Lower classes. The modes of living illustrate the contrast between the standard of the kings and nobles and that of the people inhabiting their kingdom.

M.A. Ansari in "*Socio-Cultural Life of the Great Mughals (1526-1707 A.D.)*" the main objective of the work is to present in an outline the conditions prevalent in the Mughal Court, the private and public life of the Mughal Emperor.

There are so many books that supply useful information related to my work. I included them in Bibliography. Help is also taken from modern works like Edwards S. M., *Babur: Diarist and Despot*; Lamb Harold, *Babur the tiger, first of the great Mughals*;

Muhibbul Hasan, *Babur, The founder of the Mughal Empire in India*; Jena Krushnachandra, *Babur-Nama, and Babur*; E.D. Ross, *The Poems of the Emperor Babur*, S.R. Sharma, *The Mughal Empire in India*; Radhey Shyam, *Babur*; Lanepoole Stanley, *Babur*; Hamid Suleiman, *Miniatures of Baburnama*; Rushbrook Williams, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*, S.K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, Abraham Eraly, *The Mughal Throne*, Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, M.A. Ansari, *Socio-Cultural Life of the Great Mughals(1526-1707A.D.)*, M.P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals(1526-1700A.D.)*.

The above-mentioned works enabled me to complete my Ph.D. thesis on “***The Early Mughals: Political and Cultural Interactions with the Rajputs and the Afghans.***”

As it is evident from the overview of previous works that most of the works supplied the scattered information about the Mughals, the Rajputs and the Afghans and emphasized on the political issues. Nevertheless they omitted the nuances and their interactions in particular. In order to present my research work effective, I strived to have better understanding about the political along with the cultural issues of the Early Mughals with the Rajputs and the Afghans.

The separation of the Empire of Political and Cultural history from its neighbouring areas of research mainly economic history has been considered relatable for the present study to do justice to the confined study of the Early Mughals: Political and Cultural relations with the Rajputs and the Afghans. Babur the founder of the Mughal Empire in Hindustan attracted the attention of scores of scholars, students and the readers. I started with the establishment of the Mughal Empire. His expeditions of Hindustan not only created great confidence in him but even inspired him to move towards Hindustan. New experiments in the battlefields yielded a series of victories in which he revealed his ability of handling the problems which faced him as ruler of Hindustan. Achievements and failures of Humayun, his battles, he recovered some portion of his lost heritage, Socio-Cultural Life of the Indians during 16th century.

At the point when we read the history of the Mughal Empire, we see that as everyone would like to think, the Mughal Empire was extraordinary, during the reign of Akbar. Individuals do not give a lot of significance to Babur and Humayun. I was fascinated by the fact that the great Mughal Empire was built during the era of Akbar yet

it was established by Akbar's grandfather Babur and re-established by father Humayun. Similarly as taking a building at any high structure, it cannot be neglected how solid its establishment will be, comparatively before observing the incomparable Mughal Empire, we have to see its establishment. I am therefore tempted by Babur and Humayun. Many people have worked on the Mughal Empire. I have taken political and cultural history. I have attempted to demonstrate this in my work.

This study intends to focus on the Political and as well as Cultural relations of the Early Mughals with the Rajputs and the Afghans for a better understanding of the perspective.

The present work is divided into Five Chapters:

The first chapter entitled “Establishment of the Mughal Empire”. In this chapter I recorded the period which commenced from the childhood of Babur till Babur’s depiction of Hindustan. Babur’s Farghana section is the opening of *Baburnama*. This chapter covers the history of Central Asia (Farghana, Samarqand, Kabul), Early Expeditions and Babur’s visit in Hindustan. Babur had long contemplated conquest of India. He secured Qandahar, necessary to protect Kabul during long absences, and invaded India five times. He gives the description of Flora and Fauna, historical geography, irrigation method, social and economic conditions of Hindustan. His depiction of the natural beauty of Hindustan is finest.

The second chapter is “Babur’s Interface with the Afghans and the Rajputs”. In this chapter I focused my attention on the political relations of Babur with the Afghans and the Rajputs. His battles with them, they were tactless, had no idea of the arrangement of forces on the battlefield. He fought four battles in Hindustan and became victorious in every battle. He then engaged a Turkish artillery-man and fortified his army with guns, weapons his Indian opponents lacked. Using innovative military tactics learned from Ustad Ali his current head artillery-man.

Babur’s army defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi’s more numerous foot and cavalry forces. Babur killed the Indian Sultan himself at the battle of Panipat in 1526, and declaring himself Emperor of Hindustan. His first and most serious opponent was a Rajput Hindu, Rana Sanga of Mewar, a renowned warrior. For the next several years until his premature death in 1530, he fought Battle of Ghagra and Conquest of Chanderi. When he died, Babur bequeathed to his eldest son Humayun.

The third chapter entitled “Early reign of Humayun in Hindustan,” an attempt has been made to describe Humayun emerges as a scholar and lover of the arts, intensely humane and morally unimpeachable, possessed of soldierly qualities and a general’s strategy. And yet he fails: he fails on account of the defects of his qualities. Humayun’s invasion of Hindustan in 1555-56, and describes the battles fought with the Afghans. Humayun had proven himself capable in warfare; however, he was inclined to lose the fruits of his victory by abandoning himself to long periods of pleasure and celebration.

After victories in Gujrat, Mandu and Gaur, Humayun remained in the palaces of the defeated for extended periods. Meanwhile, the Mughal opponents strength increased, giving them time to plot Humayun’s downfall. The most serious of these adversaries was an Afghan, Sher Shah Sur. In 1536, Humayun, alarmed by reports of Sher Shah’s activities, headed toward Bihar and Bengal, where he captured Gaur, the Bengal capital. Humayun’s defeat in 1538, it was a decisive battle with Sher Shah at Chausa, in Bihar. He was then forsaken by his brothers, each of whom sought the Mughal crown for himself. Humayun was again defeated by Sher Shah at Kannauj in 1540. Sher Shah assumed the throne of Delhi and drove Humayun from Hindustan.

The fourth chapter is entitled “Political Relations of Humayun with the Rajputs and the Afghans”. In this chapter an attempt has been made to describe the political relationship of a Muslim king to his Muslim and non-Muslim. In 1540, at the battle of Kannauj, Humayun was defeated. Sher Shah’s founding of the short-lived Sur Empire, with its capital at Delhi, resulted in Humayun’s exile for 15 years in the court of Shah Tahmasp I. Humayun had gathered hundreds of Sindhi and Baloch tribesmen alongside his Mughals and then marched towards Qandahar and later Kabul.

Sher Shah Suri had died in 1545; his son and successor Islam Shah died in 1554. These two deaths left the dynasty reeling and disintegrating. This was a perfect opportunity for the Mughals to march back to India. The Mughal Emperor Humayun gathered a vast army and attempted the challenging task of retaking the throne in Delhi. Humayun placed the army under the leadership of Bairam Khan, it turned out proved himself a great tactician.

At the battle of Sirhind in 1555, the armies of Sikandar Shah Suri were decisively defeated and the Mughal Empire was re-established in India. On the evening of 21 Jan

1556, Humayun was walking on the terrace of his library at Sher Mandal in Delhi. Unfortunately slipped upon the marble, and he fell headlong from the top to the bottom of the stair. He was taken up insensible and laid upon his bed. He died on 24 Jan.1556.

The fifth chapter is devoted to “Socio-Cultural Life of the Indians during Sixteenth Century”. A study of the socio-cultural life of the people under the great Mughals was a long-felt need in our historical studies. In this chapter generally endeavours to present varied socio-cultural aspects under the Early Mughals like architecture, costumes, ornaments, kitchen, ceremonies, women, education, painting, music. It depicts the pompous life of the people of the upper class and the nobility and at the same time the life and aspirations of the lower classes. Under the Mughals, Hindus and Muslims came nearer together and learned to appreciate each others good points. Hinduism and Islam gave birth to the national literature, architecture, music and painting which became the common heritage of all the people living in the country. Thus, the mingling of people belonging to different countries and cultural traditions let loose the process of cultural synthesis that provided variety and richness to life.

CHAPTER-1
***ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MUGHAL
EMPIRE***

Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University

According to historical records and *Baburnama*¹ (Daulat Khan Lodi invited him to attack Delhi where Ibrahim Lodi was ruling at that time. He sent his ambassador to him to support him in his attack on Delhi. Also in 1524, (Daulat Khan Lodi), who was the rebel of the Lodi dynasty, invited Babur to defeat Ibrahim and become ruler. Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodi at the first battle of Panipat in 1526 and founded the Mughal Empire. After eliminating the Lodi dynasty, the Mughal Empire extends its wings and captured most of India and ruled easily until the 18th century.

1.1 Babur in Central Asia

1.1.1 Farghana

Babur was the man who connected Central Asia and India. The blood of Timur and Chingiz had run in his veins. He was a daring and courageous Mughal Emperor. In 1494 Umar Shaikh Mirza (Babur's father) died, his eldest brother Sultan Ahmad, decided to assault Farghana in the same year. While Mahmud Khan moved from Tashkent to occupy Akhsi, Umar Shaikh's capital and the largest town in Farghana. In Akhsi, Umar entered a pigeon cote which was built on the slope of a hill; it was fragile, the terrace was collapsed, he fell and died. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Babur.²

The birth of Babur was good news sent to his grandfather³, Yunus, through a courier, he came to Farghana for joining the rejoicing and feast with which they celebrated the shaving of his grandson's head. When he became at the age of five, the next six years must have been spent in education, and well spent, it was due to the women of his family.⁴

Munilal stated that, "Sultan Ahmad Mirza and Sultan Mahmud Khan (the brother and brother-in-law respectively of Babur's father) both advanced to capture Farghana when the young boy comes to the throne."⁵

Babur taught the habits and customs of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia from his mother, like how they lived on their many herds of animals, long hunting expeditions which they undertook to find and store food for the cold winter days. These stories of a community among hostile surroundings had a lasting impact on the boy's mind.⁶

¹Memoir was written by Babur himself.

²Babur, Zahiruddin Muhammad, *Baburnama*, Vol. I- II, Tr. Annette Susannah Beveridge Low Price Publications, New Delhi, First 1921, pp. 29-32,13.

³It was the relation of his mother's father.

⁴*Baburnama*, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

⁵Munilal, *Babur, Life and Times*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1977, p. 2.

⁶Munilal, *Babur, Life and Times*, op. cit., p. 5.

Babur received the education from his many tutors and also from his mother. Being the language of the *Quran*, Arabic was normally given priority in the education of the Muslim prince. Babur was well known for his native language Turki, as also in Persian. After the death of his father, his school came to an end; he had little time to devote to academic pursuits. From the age of five to eleven, for these six years he was a zealous reader. It is said that he mastered the classical works of Hafiz and Shaikh Sa'adi before reaching the age of ten.⁷ He had learned much about war by the age of eleven.

Babur was five when his first journey was taken out of Farghana, the place was Samarqand. Samarqand was ruled by his uncle, Sultan Ahmad Mirza, the eldest son of Sultan Abu-Said. Sultan Ahmad wanted to reinforce the family ties between the houses of Farghana and Samarqand. For that he took a step, the marriage of his daughter Ayisha Sultan Begum with Babur. The betrothal ceremony of the two-five-year-old is mentioned in a few words in the Memoirs:

“Ayisha was Sultan Ahmad’s third daughter. Her mother was Qabaqa Begum. When I was five and went to Samarqand, they decided to give her to me in marriage. They led her out, veiled, for the betrothal ceremony and, after it was finished, she scampered away. Ayisha struck me to be a vain child.”⁸ She was Babur’s first wife. Begum Dildar Aghacha was also wife of the emperor Babur and Humayun’s step-mother of whom, among the total five children, Mirza Hindal and Gulbadan Begum were born.⁹

Babur was very much interested in nature. He gives the beautiful description of Farghana, and also about its historical geography. His account of the city of Farghana in the memoirs is lucid:

Farghana is situated at the end of the advanced tenancy. On the east, it has Kashgarh, on the west side Samarqand, on the south the mountains of Badakhshan, and on the north complete despondency with no established population whatsoever. The Mongols and Uzbeks had ransacked the north to the awfully fillet.¹⁰

Munilal described Farghana, “Farghana is a small state, abounding in grain and fruit. It is circled round by mountains except in the west, that is, towards Khujand and

⁷ibid., p. 14.

⁸ibid., pp. 15-16.

⁹Archaeological Survey of India, *EpigraphiaIndica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)* 1968, Edited by Z.A. Desai, Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1969, p. 30.

¹⁰Munilal, *Babur, Life and Times* p. 17.

Samarqand. In the winter season, an enemy can enter Farghana only from that side. The Sahun river flows into the country from north-east, turns westward and then to the north into Turkistan. It does not fall into any sea, but expends itself into the sands.”¹¹ Farghana has seven separate townships, five in the south-Andijan, Ush, Marghinan, Asfara and Khujand-and two-Akhsi and Kasan-in the north.

There were mountains in the region of Farghana, which were tremendous pastures. Besides several admirable merits of wood, these mountains restrain turquoise and iron mines.

Umar Shaikh shifted the capital from Andijan in the south to Akhsi in the north for the military purpose. When Babur became the king, he once again made Andijan the capital, because he felt that the river Syr was a natural resistance streak against any invading power from the north. The collapse of Akhsi did not mean the fall of Farghana.¹²

Babur was not observed Farghana only from the geographical angle but also for being king encircled by antagonistic uncles, cousins and other ruthless relatives. When Babur was eight, he knew almost every arc and angle above the mountain passes and could wend his way through unfamiliar tracks and shortcuts. He made himself proverbial with probable flight routes from the valley to other sides of the mountains contiguous it. This helped him when he was obsessed with a pillar to post on many occasions subsequent the first fiasco from Samarqand in 1498. In fact Farghana equipped Babur for the many arduous battles that lay in advance.¹³

Farghana was too small and not wealthy sufficient to gratify his purpose, for it could only support 3,000 or 4,000 men. On the other hand, the kingdom of Samarqand was both large and affluent and would permit him to embark upon his schemes of self-aggrandizement and imitate Timur, whom he so well-liked. So after recovering Khujand which his uncle, Mirza Sultan Ahmad had seized, Babur in June-July 1496 set out to besiege Samarqand.¹⁴

¹¹ibid., pp. 17-18.

¹²ibid., pp. 18-19.

¹³ibid., p. 19.

¹⁴*Baburnama*, p. 64.

1.1.2 Samarqand

Babur was the young conqueror who moved towards the 'Garden Palace', where the three estates, the nobles, the divines, and the people, paid him homage. Samarqand¹⁵ had an immense attraction for the motivated juvenile monarch of Farghana.¹⁶ He desired to sit in the throne of Timur, in the seat of Alexander 'of the two horns.' Samarqand, the dream of his life, now was his. He wandered from the palace to the palace, from pleasance to pleasance. The whole land, as far as Bukhara seemed one great garden, full of fruits and crops, and teeming with busy workers.¹⁷

In the beginning when Babur ruled in Samarqand, remarkable changes were taking place. At that time suddenly, Ahmad Mirza died. He passed away before reaching Samarqand; his army had been introverted from the area of Andijan. His brother Mahmud Mirza then came to the throne. He too was "called to God's presence" within six months of Babur's becoming king of Farghana.¹⁸

Thus Babur entered Timur's capital at the head of his Mongol and Turk troops. It was a historic event and Babur stated of it:

"When I was seated on the throne, I showed the Samarqand begs precisely the same treatment they had enjoyed before. I also bestowed suitable ranks on my *begs*."¹⁹

There were some towns in the world that were as wonderful as Samarqand. Alexander the Great, it was Timur Beg, founded it and made his capital. Timur was first, no great ruler before him ever reigned in this city. I ordered my men to appraise in paces the parapet of the walled town. It came out at 10,000 steps.²⁰

Munilal given the description which Babur told after coming on the throne, he expressed that "After the glittering Timur crown had been placed on my head, the *begs* of high rank, dressed in their splendid costumes, came and paid their homage to me one by one. Their presentations of gold and silver were in keeping with the bigness of the occasion. *Begs* also came from all districts to pledge their loyalty to me. A direct

¹⁵It was the capital of Timur.

¹⁶Raj Kumar, *Babur to Humayun*, Nation Press, New Delhi, 2018, p. 07

¹⁷Stanley Lanepoole, *Babur*, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. 37-38.

¹⁸Munilal, *Babur, Life and Times*, pp. 30-31.

¹⁹ibid., p. 31.

²⁰ibid.

descendent of Timur Beg was now in full control of the territory, and people knew that the time of uncertainty was over.”²¹

Samarqandis were all orthodox Sunnis. In the town and its suburbs, there were many ancient mosques and also many fine buildings and gardens built by Timur Beg and Ulugh Beg Mirza. Samarqand was a stunning town. There were various bazaars for each trade-an arrangement initiate in no other town of the world. Tremendous meadows positioned all around the city. The benefit of the populace of Samarqand and its vicinity was our first apprehension.²²

Babur said, “I prayed to God at each step for help and guidance in the tasks that lay ahead. I inspected personally all the treasuries and had them properly sealed in my presence. Trusted officials were placed in charge of various palaces wherein lay priceless collections of gold and precious stones. I was keen that no pilfering should be resorted to by my victorious chieftains. Samarqand, to me, was a sacred trust. The city had come to me because God willed it so. I had come to save the land of my ancestors from the clutches of self-seeking libertines.”²³

Samarqand had already been plundered by his predecessors. His army was disappointed because it had been regimented to cease from similar loot. The condition was close to the outburst summit because of food riots and desertions. The most important *beg* of Babur, Ahmad Tambal, wanted permission to leave, the situation became extremely serious. Babur was not here with barely 1,000 soldiers to protect his shaky situation. And with all this, he fell ill with an illness which the royal physicians became unsuccessful to diagnose. The young king hung between life and death for more than a week before there were signs of recovery. “For four days my speech was impeded and they used to drop water into my mouth with cotton.”²⁴

1.1.3 Kabul

Kabul country is situated in the fourth climate.²⁵ Babur praised the climate of Kabul, which was very pleasant. He described even in the hot climate, no one can sleep

²¹ibid., p. 32.

²²ibid., pp. 31-32.

²³ibid., p. 32.

²⁴ibid., p. 33.

²⁵On the east; it has Lamghanat, Pashawar, Hashnagar and some of the countries of Hindustan. On its west, it has mountain region in which are Karnud and Ghur. On its north, there is separation of Hindukush range. It has the Qunduz and Andar-ab countries. On its south, it has Farmul, Naghz, Bannu and Afghanistan.

without a fur-coat. The snowfalls in most places lie deep in winter; the cold is not at an extreme level. He describes Kabul is a country that has both the cold and hot climates and both were pleasant. With this observation of Babur, it appears that he was deeply attached to his native land.²⁶

Babur's interest in nature is evident from *Baburnama*. He praised Kabul country, "full of gardens, meadows, flowers and with lovely surroundings. He tells us that in Hindukush hills the tulips of thirty-two or thirty-three varieties are found. He named them one is rose-scented, another hundred-leaved, they mostly grew in the hill skirts below Parwan. With happiness he mentions different varieties of fruits grown in Kabul. He describes oranges of Ningnihar were very good and Nur valley of Adinapur and Lamghan were good. He noted down that the citron fruits; grapes, pomegranates were grown in various parts of Kabul. He praised the *Istalif* grapes and Ghazni grapes and gives in his memoirs that in Kabul grew a special variety of grape called water-grape. He also mentions that Ghazni and Farmuli apples were exported to Hindustan. *Chilguza* grew in Lamghan, *amaluk* in nur-valley and Lamghan and coriander in Kunar. He tells that the melons of Ghazni were not good in flavour in comparison to those grow in Trans-Oxiana."²⁷ In Kabul district *rhubarb* was good.

In the cold climate, there were fruits grape, pomegranate, apricot, apple, quince, pear, peach, sinjid, almond and walnut. Kabul was not fertile in grain and four or fivefold yield was reckoned good. Its melons were not first-rate, but they were not bad when grown from Khurasan seed.²⁸

Babur though could not forget the sweet memories of Samarqand and Farghana, he praised the fine climate and lakes of Kabul. The kingdom of Kabul was much smaller than the present in Afghanistan. It has long and narrow plain running from Ghazni to Kabul; the valley of Koh-daman; the highlands of Kabul, lying to the north and Lamghan was divided into two parts by Kabul River: on the north, it has valleys of Alishing and Alingir; on the south, it has the district of Nang-nihar and the valley of Adinapur.²⁹

Babur's description of Kabul country shows his keen interest in nature and historical geography. He described animals, birds and flowers; he knew the peculiar

²⁶ *Baburnama*, p.203-204.

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 203.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 202.

habits of birds and beasts, he gives a description of how the birds cannot fly over the Hindukush passes in stormy weather. He praises the grass, which grows for horses and pastures are free from mosquitoes. There were two meadows, one of them is Tipa and another is Kosh Nadir.³⁰

Babur also described different trees, plants, animals, manners and customs of men. Babur laid out the gardens, in 1508-09, he planted near Jalalabad a garden (*Char-bagh*) named *Bagh-i-Wafa* (Garden of Fidelity).³¹ In this garden, were oranges, citrons and pomegranates grow in abundance. Oranges and pomegranates were in a group-round a lake. Here, he planted bananas, sugarcane, etc. In the middle of the garden Babur writes, “one-mile stream flows constantly past the little hill on which are the four garden-plots.”³²

Another garden is known as ‘Fountain of the Three Friends’, there were three types of trees, planes, oaks and the flowering arghwan. The yellow arghwan grows plentifully, the red and the yellow flowering at the same time.³³ In the country of Kabul was an excellent market. He planted the fruits, which resemble the melons and grapes of Farghana.³⁴

Babur wrote in his memoirs, “many birds which are found in Hindustan, such as parrots, *maina*, peacock and *luja*, the ape, etc. are also found in Kabul, its Babur own observation and he also tells that there are several others which he did not see in Hindustan.”

“Eleven or twelve tongues were spoken in Kabul writes Babur *Arabic, Persian, Turki, Mughuli, Hindi, Afghani, Pashai, Parajai, Gibri, Birki and Lamghani*. Babur tells that except Kabul there was no other country where different tribes live and speak various types of languages.”³⁵

In the long winter nights, Babur writes his own story of the new land of Kabul in his memoirs. He praises the climate. He praised Ghazni and its soil. On the plain around it, were Hazaras and Afghans, compared to Kabul, it was a poor place. Ghazni grapes

³⁰ibid., p.204

³¹ibid.,p. 208.

³²ibid.

³³ibid.

³⁴ibid.

³⁵ibid.,p. 207.

were better than grapes of Kabul; its melons were abundant; apples were good, and carried to Hindustan. Its people were Hanafites.³⁶

He founded in Ghazni many gardens and buildings. Babur described the strong fortress of Kabul easily defended. He stated: "Kabul was a land to be governed by the sword, not the pen."³⁷ The country of Kabul was small and its revenue was very limited.³⁸

At the advice of his officers, Babur decided to undertake a raid into Hindustan as the revenues of Kabul were not sufficient to support his troops, and he followed the direct road to Attock and Peshawar. When he reached Adinapur (now Jalalabad), he was struck by the total change in the climate and appearance of a new country. He described this new country, as a hot country he had never seen before; for the first time he saw a different world; it was totally varied from his own country Kabul, "its grasses, trees, animals, birds, and manners and customs of the clan and large crowd. We were amazed, and truly there was ground for amaze."³⁹

The earthquake struck while Babur was ill and on his way to Qandahar. In this earthquake, many walls of fortresses, and many houses in both towns and villages were shaken violently and destroyed. So many people lost their lives by the destruction of houses and buildings. "There were thirty-three shocks that day. For a month the earth still shook two or three times in the day and night."⁴⁰

Babur wrote in his memoir, "As it was always in my heart to possess Hindustan, and as these several countries, Bhira, Khushab, Chinab, and Chiniot had once been held by the Turks, I pictured them as my own and was resolved to get them into my hands, whether peacefully or by force." For these reasons it being imperative to treat these hill men well, the order was issued: "Do not hurt or harm to the flocks and herds of these people, nor even to their cotton-ends and broken needles!"⁴¹

Babur hoped that his kingdom was very small he felt the need to maintain a large army for that purpose he had to look at other places for the resources he wanted. Now he thought of the famous land of Hindustan. Both Chingiz and Timur had plundered parts of

³⁶ibid., p. 218

³⁷ibid., p. 228

³⁸In the country of Kabul, "on the east is Lamghanat, five tumans and two buluks, they were Ali-Shang, Alangar, Nur-valley, Kunar with Nurgal, Chaghan-Sarai, Nijrau, Ghur-band."

³⁹Baburnam., p.229

⁴⁰ibid., p. 247

⁴¹ibid., p.380

that rich country. Kabul was to serve as a base for his campaigns into Hindustan. At this time, he had not looked himself at all as an empire builder.

Babur marched and crossed a low hill of the grazing-grounds of Milwat and went into the dun, as Hindustanis were known to name a valley (jurga). Babur described this valley, "In this dale is running water of Hindustan; along its side are many villages; it is said to be the *pargana* of the Jaswal, that is to say, of Dilawar Khan's maternal uncles. It lies there shut-in, with meadows along its torrent, rice cultivated here and there." He also observed the smallest things because he was a minute observer and wrote about villages, birds, animals, domestic birds and animals and also mentioned their colours.⁴²

The centre of interest in Babur's affairs now shifted from Qandahar to Hindustan torn by factions of which faction one result was an appeal made at this time to Babur by Daulat Khan Lodi and Alam Khan Lodi for help against Ibrahim.⁴³

1.2 Early Indian Expeditions of Babur

It was the second time when Babur had lost Samarqand, a 111-year-old lady who lived in Dehkat from her Babur learned about Hindustan. She had heard that she was relative to Timur, who had accompanied the Indian campaign of 1398. She told Timur's stories of India to Babur.⁴⁴ When Babur was involved in the struggles with Tambal and Shaibani Khan, it was the time when Babur was forced to leave Farghana after the battle of Archian. After occupying Kabul, he was the leader of an army into Hindustan. When he became the ruler of Kabul, he did think of invading Hindustan.

Babur's first expedition took place in January 1519, the second expedition in September 1519, the third expedition in 1520, the fourth expedition took place between November 1523 to October 1524, and fifth and last expedition took place at the end of 1525.

In 1509, Muhammad Shah of Nagaur ceded the authority of the Delhi Sultanate and read the Khutba and struck coins in the name of Sikandar Lodi. Nagaur remained under the Lodi Sultans until the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi at the Battle of Panipat.⁴⁵

⁴²ibid.,pp. 461-62.

⁴³ibid., p.439

⁴⁴ibid.,p.150.

⁴⁵Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Nagaur, by K.K. Sehgal, 1975, p. 28.

In 1518 Babur started to march towards the north-western frontier region of Hindustan. He restrained the secluded fortress of Chaghan Sarai on the northeast of Kabul and took part in the personal disputes of the Afghan tribes.⁴⁶

According to Ferishta, there is attempting to restrain the stubborn Afghans, Babur was assaulted Punjab and advanced as far as Sialkot and after that returned.⁴⁷ Next year he repeated his venture and advanced as far as Sialkot on the Chenab, but he retraced his steps.⁴⁸ The reason which is generally put forward for it is the Arghun's attack on Kabul; but this was not even likely to happen. At this time, Babur was in the valley of Chandwal, there was an intense earthquake lasting for half an hour.⁴⁹

1.2.1 First Expedition

On 4th January 1519 Babur started to march to attack the fort of Bajaur. He encamped near the fort and sent a trustworthy Dilzak Afghan to advise Haider Ali or his nephew, the commander of the fort to renunciation it and proposal for submission. "Not accepting this counsel," Babur writes, "that stupid and ill-fated band sent back a wild answer, whereupon the army was ordered to make ready mantelets, ladders and other appliances for taking a fort."⁵⁰ He encamped around there for a day aimed to complete his planning and on 6th January 1519 he writes that he well-ordered the troops to place on their armour to prepare their weapons and to mount in willingness for action.

In 1519 Babur attacked Bajaur which demolish after a vigorous fight, in which Babur's new artillery played a pivotal part.⁵¹

The *begs* fend off their attacks, chased the enemy up to the gateways of the fort and drove them under fortifications. However, Mulla Turk Ali and a servant of Tingiri Birdi continued their fight with the enemy. Each of them intersected their swords with the opponents, cut off their heads and brought them back. For this heroism both of them were assured reward.⁵²

About three thousand Bajauris were massacred in cold blood. The fortress and the country were placed in charge of Khwaja Kalan and there a large number of troops were

⁴⁶Radhey Shyam, *Babur*, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1978, p. 258.

⁴⁷John Briggs (Tr.), *The History of the Rise of the Muhammedan Power in India*, London, 1821, p.37.

⁴⁸John Briggs (Tr.), *The History of the Rise of the Muhammedan Power in India*, op. cit. p.37.

⁴⁹*Baburnama*, p.366.

⁵⁰*ibid.*, p. 368.

⁵¹S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India(1526-1761)*, Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay, 1934, p.29.

⁵²*Baburnama*, p.368.

appointed to strengthen him with new support.⁵³ After creating an organization and then put it in order, after that Babur returned to his base camp.⁵⁴

In Babur's career, the conquest of Bajaur was a turning point. By this conquest Babur had a base from where he could march towards Hindustan and suppress the rebellions of the Afghan tribes, who blocked his passage.

When Babur settled the matters of Bajaur in the most satisfactory manner he restarted his march. On 8th January 1519 A.D., he stopped nearby the spring of Baba Qara in the valley of Bajaur, where Khwaja Kalan requested, he forgave the prisoners and gave them leave to go. But the most rebellious chiefs were distributed with ruthlessly and put to death.⁵⁵

Babur demanded submission and loyalty, for this he sent intimidating letters to the leaders of the Yusufzai tribe.⁵⁶ From 11th January to 20th January, this was the time when Babur expended his time with the enjoyment of holding wine parties, drinking, hunting, riding and making planning for his advance walk with a military step. On 21st January he started his march on the way to Sawad on an expedition against the Yusufzai tribe.

Babur settled between Panjkura on the intersection among Bajaur and Chandwal waterways. Here he met Mansur Yusufzai, who had come back to illuminate him about the unmanageable frame of mind regarding the Afghans.⁵⁷ He walked ahead and ended at Panjkura, close to the valleys of Kahraj and Peshgram. Thusly, when he came to approach Panjkura, he, upon the exhortation of Sultan Wais Sawadi demanded a commitment of 4000 as heaps of rice for his military, from the individuals of Kahraj and sent Sultan wais to gather it.⁵⁸

On 30th January 1519, Shah Mansur's brother Taus Khan Yusufzai alongside his niece Bibi Mubarika arrived at the Mughal camp. At that evening Babur wedded Bibi Mubarika⁵⁹ and took her in his harem. After the culmination of this wedding coalition,

⁵³ John Briggs, *The History of the Rise of the Muhammedan Power in India*, p. 22.

⁵⁴ *Baburnama*, p.370.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 371.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Gulbadan Begum, *Humayunnama*, Persian text, Eng. Tr. A. S. Beveridge, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, reprint, Delhi, 1972, p. 91.

⁵⁸ *Baburnama*, p.373; One Kharwar is equal to one hundred maunds.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.375.

Babur delayed in the region lying among Bajaur and Panjkura for the following hardly few days. During this period much grain was gathered and arrangements for the further walk into the inside of sawad nation were finished.

Before leaving Bajaur Babur additionally chose to assault Bhira. He composed that “We had turned off from Bajaur with Bhira in our thoughts. Ever since we came into Kabul it had been in my mind to move on Hindustan, but this had not been done for a variety of reasons.”⁶⁰ Not just his desire was driving him to walk towards Hindustan, yet desperate need was additionally deciding his future course of action.

The prospering towns over the Jhelum vowed to extinguish his thirst and satisfy his desire of having a great domain of his own. However, before he left upon new pursuit his vital disciples prompted him to make full arrangements. This counsel was reasonable as in a piece of his military he had left at Bajaur; others had been sent towards Lamghan and the horses which were there with him were unfit in any event, for a day's administration.⁶¹ Babur dismissed their recommendation and chose to make an advance into Hindustan.

Babur himself in the wake of sending a military towards the river Sindh set out for Sawati to chase rhinoceros. For the day, he enjoyed the game. Also, it was about the sleep time prayers when he came back to the camp that he found the observing party had come back with complete information in regards to the fords. On 17th February 1519, he crossed the ford close Nilab. The individuals of that spot held up upon him and introduced a blessing comprising of a horse in mail and 300 *Shahrukhis*.⁶² By mid-day prayer time when everybody had crossed the river, Babur continued his walk.

In the meantime, Babur divided his military into right, left and centre and step by step walked towards Bhira. The quick effect of this tactic was that no sooner did he reach close to the town than Diwa Hindu,⁶³ the son Siktu, who was the worker of Ali Khan's son of Daulat Khan Yusuf Khail joined by different notables of Bhira, held up upon him. Every one of them introduced a horse and a camel in *peshkash* and offered submission. In the evening he stayed on the banks of the river Jhelum and spent the night there.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ibid., pp. 377-378.

⁶¹ibid., pp. 378-79.

⁶²ibid., p. 380.

⁶³ibid., p.382.

⁶⁴Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tarikh-i-SherShahi*, Tr. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians; the Muhammadan period*, IV, Sushil Gupta Publications, Calcutta, 1871, pp. 232-233.

Promptly in the first part of the day of 21st February 1519 A.D., Babur conveyed searching gatherings in various ways and around the same day visited Bhira, where Sangur Khan *Janjuha* presented him a horse and offered submission. After two days on 23rd February 1519, the Chaudharis of Bhira consented to pay 400,000 *Shahrukhis* as payment (*mal-i-aman*) for their property.⁶⁵

The submission of the nearby chiefs during the last three or four days further encouraged Babur's fantasy of the invasion of Hindustan. His venturesome and determined *begs* counselled him to send agents to the nations which were once needy upon Amir Timur.⁶⁶

On 4th March 1519, Babur got the news of the birth of Hindal and during the following hardly few days, he held uproarious drinking parties about which he writes in the most joyful mind-set.⁶⁷ At no other time, we discover him as on 5th, 7th and 12th March 1519 A.D. In the midst of the joy of his drinking sessions and *majun* parties he always remembered his obligations.

It was spoken to him by his supporters in the locale that is the *janjuhas* of Bhira the customary foes of the Gakkhars that the leader of the Gakkhar clan, "is the bad man round-about; he robs on the roads; he brings men to ruin; he ought either to be driven out from these parts, or to be severely punished."⁶⁸

To additionally fortify his hold over his Indian possession he presented on Muhammad Ali *Jang Jung*, the nation among Bhira and Sindh and gave him extraordinary guidelines to be caring to the individuals who offered submission. At this event, the position of Muhammad Ali *Jang Jung* was raised and he was additionally respected with particular headwear in black velvet, an exceptional corselet *Qilmaq*, and a standard.⁶⁹ On 24th March he again continued his adventure.

At the point when he arrived at Ali Masjid on 27th March 1519 he had the fulfilment of getting ten sheep, two ass-heaps of rice, eight enormous *cheeses* from

⁶⁵ John Briggs, *The History of the Rise of the Muhammedan Power in India*, Vol. II, p. 23, cited in: S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Agra, 1934, p. 14; Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1902-39, p. 238.

⁶⁶ Radhey Shyam, *Babur*, op. cit., p.267.

⁶⁷ John Briggs, *The History of the Rise of the Muhammedan Power in India*, p. 23; *Akbarnama*, op. cit., p. 238.

⁶⁸ *Baburnama*, p. 389.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 393.

Maruf, a Yaqub Khail Dilzak. Going through Ali Masjid, Jui Shahi, Bagh-i-Wafa, Siah-ab, Surkhab, Kark, Qaratu he arrived at Kabul on 30th March 1519.⁷⁰

For Babur, it was practically perturbing to manage the loss of Bhira. In any case, for the occasion, inferable from his disease, he could do nothing to recuperate the lost region.⁷¹

As a by-product of this respect, the Afghan head of the Yusufzai's clan agreed with him that they would not respect the nation among Sawad or more Abuha as their very own and that the Afghan cultivators of Bajaur and Sawad would pay 6000 ass-heaps of rice as yearly income to his government.⁷²

In 1519 A. D., 8 September, the Emperor Babur came in contact with the tribe and found them ruled by two chiefs. Those who were cousins, and named Tatar and Hati respectively, while the Emperor was in their country, Hati attacked Tatar, killed him, and took the authorities of his history. Babur's force marched against Hati and captured his stronghold. Hati escaped, but later made his submission.⁷³

1.2.2 Second Expedition

That year 1519, 8th September, Babur had departed through the Khyber, to appease the Yusufzai and built up Peshawar fort as a base for future activities in Hindustan. Be that as it may, he was brought to mind by upsetting news from Badakhshan, which came into Babur's control in 1520.⁷⁴

The two heads of the Dilzak Afghans, who educated him that an enormous number of meandering clans had collected with huge amounts of corn at Hasht-Nagar. They recommended that it would be in the wellness of things that he should initially assault them and claim either Hasht-Nagar or Peshawar, and make both of the two places, as the base and afterward attempt an expedition against the Yusufzais of Sawad. Babur acknowledged their proposal. He continued his walk and came to Jui Shahi, where he was joined by Tingri-birdi, Sultan Muhammad Duldai and Hamza from Qunduz.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol.I, p. 239.

⁷¹ *ibid*.

⁷² *Baburnama*, p.400.

⁷³ *Gazetteer of the Hazara District, 1907*, compiled and edited by H.D. Watson, Chatto and Windus: MCMVII, 1979, p. 35.

⁷⁴ S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India(1526-1761)*, op. cit., p.30.

⁷⁵ *Baburnama*, p. 410.

On 27th September 1519, Sultan Bayazid arrived to educate him that the Afridis had taken up their quarters at Baras with their products and families and it was a suitable time to shock them. Since Babur was resolved to complete the current business he dismissed Sultan Bayazid's proposal.⁷⁶

On 4th October 1519, he ordered his men to assault the adversary. Countless Khizr Khail Afghans and their children were made hostage, while the others figured out how to run away to mountains to take cover there. The following day Babur took up his situation at Qilaghu.⁷⁷ Here he got the Waziri Afghans into submission, which were very unpredictable in taking care of tribute or obligations, presently being frightened by the exemplary punishment, which had been incurred upon the Khizr Khails, gave 300 sheep as a tribute.

The Dilzak Afghans intervened for them. Subsequently, they were absolved and their detainees were discharged. Consequently, they were approached to pay 4000 sheep in tribute. Babur likewise respected their chiefs with *tun* (coats) delegated gatherers to go with them to their nation to understand the tribute in full.⁷⁸

In the wake of having settled records with Khirilchi Afghans and Samu Khail Afghans, Babur walked further and took up his situation at bahar, Michi-gram, and Jagdalik, where he breathed easy in the joyful making.⁷⁹ In any case, while offering himself to joy Babur did not omit to stay in contact with the issues of the neighbouring nations. He sent Mulla Abdul Malik *Diwana* to Kabul to notify his officers there about his return.⁸⁰ By moderate walk he pulled back from Jagdalik drinking and enjoying on the way, arriving at Kabul on 17th November 1519.

He specified in his Memoirs that on Friday 16th December 1519, "I finished copying the odes and couplets selected according to their measure from Ali Sher Beg's four Diwans." and on Tuesday 20th December there was a get-together in the fortification, where "it was ordered that if anyone went out from it drunk, that person should not be invited to party again."⁸¹

⁷⁶ibid., p. 411.

⁷⁷ibid., p. 413.

⁷⁸ibid.

⁷⁹ibid., p. 414.

⁸⁰ibid., p. 415.

⁸¹*Baburnama*, p.419.

Radhey Shyam wrote that, “He combined business with pleasure, beneath his hunting excursions and seeming carelessness laid the hidden desire and the mighty ambition of conquering Hindustan. For fulfilling this great enterprise he never retreated from collecting adequate resources. He knew how difficult was the task and how limited were his resources, but was keen to measure his sword with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi the ruler of Hindustan.”⁸²

Radhey Shyam mentioned that “Earlier he had simply harried the country to assess the relative strength of the local tribes and to know the reaction of his incursions on the north-western frontiers of Hindustan on the reigning Sultan of Delhi. During his first and second expedition he found that the tribes inhabiting the north western frontier regions of Hindustan lacked the support of the ruler of Delhi.”⁸³

Babur assaulted the nation, put to death countless Afghans, made a significant number of them hostage to the help of the proletariat, whom they had mistreated. He progressed to Sialkot. The individuals of Sialkot submitted. After claiming the town of Sialkot Babur walked towards Sayyidpur, where the occupants of the town offered inflexible protection from the invaders. Babur quickly assaulted it, raged the fortress and put the whole army to the sword.

Babur understood that any achievement in Hindustan was troublesome, if unrealistic, insofar as Qandahar stayed unconquered, and danger at a truly defenceless purpose of his little realm was not removed. He before long constrained Shah Beg *Arghun* to withdraw from the wilderness and to take cover in the fortification of Qandahar. He sought after him and opened its attack. In any case, it demonstrated invulnerably. So understanding the uselessness of delayed tasks, he settled on the arrangement of attacking it yearly, plundering and looting the encompassing domains. Accordingly, he figured, he would have the option to diminish the battalion to submission. So in the wake of blockading the post for a month or two, he came back to Kabul to take care of other significant issues.⁸⁴

⁸²Radhey Shyam, *Babur*, p. 277.

⁸³ibid.

⁸⁴*Baburnama*, pp. 422-25; See also, John Briggs, *The History of the Rise of the Muhammedan Power in India*, p. 23.

1.2.3 Third expedition

For the third time, Babur walked, in 1520, through Bajaur towards Bhira. After two ineffective endeavours, Babur at long last obtained Qandahar, in 1522, through the treachery of its Governor Maulana Abdul Bagi.⁸⁵

In 1520 happened the passing of Mirza Khan, the leader of Badakhshan.⁸⁶ His son Sulaiman, being a minor could not be relied upon to hold the reins of the organization, successfully particularly when the court was divided and the peril of Uzbek assault compromised the occupants of the nation. Under the edgiest conditions, Sulaiman was taken to Kabul by his mother Sultan Nigar Khanam.⁸⁷ What's more, no sooner did she leave Badakhshan than the Badakhshani nobles mentioned Babur to make some elective course of action for the organization of the nation during the minority of Sultan. Consequently, Babur chose to assign the territory to his eldest son Humayun,⁸⁸ and he sent the last with his mother Maham to Badakhshan.

Along these lines having been diminished of nervousness on the western frontier of his realm Babur again entered the domains of Shah Beg *Arghun*. He laid an attack on the town of Qandahar. The army offered confrontation, yet finally, it was diminished to incredible trouble. Shortage of arrangements and flare-up of disease both inside and outside the fortification diminished the protectors and the invaders to a sorry situation. They became tired of the crusade. Babur raised the attack and came back to Kabul in June 1520.⁸⁹

Late in 1520 Babur and his wife visited Humayun⁹⁰ and remained at Badakhshan for a few days.⁹¹ At that point he came back to Qandahar some of the time in 1521 A.D.⁹² he entered that area attacking and ravaging it in transit, making incredible pain and hopelessness the individuals. Presently we see an extreme change in his viewpoint. Though he had lamented the ravaging exercises of the Mongols and denied his soldiers from contacting even a messed up needle of the individuals, he turned to similar strategies to pick up his end. He figured out how to arrive at the foot of the fortification

⁸⁵S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*(1526-1761), p. 30.

⁸⁶John Briggs, *The History of the Rise of the Muhammedan Power in India*, p. 24.

⁸⁷*Humayunnama*, Tr.A. S. Beveridge, op. cit., p.92.

⁸⁸*Baburnama*, pp.432-33

⁸⁹*Humayunnama*, Tr. A. S. Beveridge, p.92.

⁹⁰*Baburnama*, p.436.

⁹¹*Humayunnama*, Tr.A. S. Beveridge, pp.92-93.

⁹²*ibid.*, pp.92-93.

opened its siege and squeezed the battalion hard. While the siege was going on, Shah Beg Arghun opened negotiations with Shah Ismail Safavi and mentioned him to mediate for his benefit and ask Babur to withdraw.

Shah Beg's present hostility and his conduct in 1507 made Babur chose to add Qandahar. Additionally, he understood that inferable from its vital significance, as long as it stayed in the hands of his foes, his endeavour against Hindustan would not succeed. He, in this way, came back from Sayyidpur and, after rebuffing the Hazara and Tagudari clans and involving Garmsir, blockaded Qandahar early in 1520.⁹³ As of now, starvation was seething in the nation around the town; the battalion needed supplies and plague had broken out. Babur was not able to exploit this since his camp excessively was influenced by these conditions, and he was constrained to resign to Kabul in June.⁹⁴

Radhey Shyam inscribed that, "On 26th July 1522, Shah Beg breathed his last. Finding himself in a precarious situation Maulana Abdul Baqai sent an express messenger to Babur offering to surrender the fort to him. Babur immediately responded to the call. He hastened towards Qandahar, received the keys of the fort, and a little later handed over the prize to his younger son Mirza Kamran, who was a few months junior to Humayun. Shortly, after Babur sent his ambassador to the Persian court to inform the Shah of his success in conquering the fort of Qandahar."⁹⁵

The control of Qandahar denoted the start of another trip to Babur's desire. At this point, he had gotten progressively calm and calculating. His foolishness had been impressively tamed. Furthermore, before embraced a crisp endeavour, he currently gave a full idea to the possibilities of accomplishment.

They were predominant warriors and strategists. Furthermore, even though Shaibani Khan was dead and gone, Farghana had become a bizarre practically unfriendly land for him. He had scarcely any supporters there. He could not overlook the harsh exercise of the on-going past nor might he be able to fix it in any way.

⁹³Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqui, *History of the Arghuns and Tarkhans of Sind*, Tr. Mir Muhammad Masum's *Tarikh-i-Sind*, Karachi, 1972p.209.

⁹⁴Mahmudul Hasan, *History of the Arghuns and Tarkhans of Sind*, An Annotated Tr. Of the Relevant Parts of Mir Muhammad Masum's *Tarikh-i-Sind*, Karachi, 1972, op. cit., p. 209, cited in: Muhibbul Hasan, *Babur Founder of the Mughal Empire in India*, p. 53.

⁹⁵Radhey Shyam, *Babur*, p. 281.

1.2.4 Fourth Expedition

In this way, completely secure at home, Babur for the fourth time attacked India, in 1524. Daulat Khan, Governor of Punjab, was becoming amazing. Sultan Ibrahim had convened him to Delhi. Be that as it may, Daulat Khan insulted him by not showing up face to face. To shield himself from the Sultan's anger, Daulat Khan sent his son Dilawar Khan, to welcome Babur to oust Ibrahim Lodi for his uncle Alam Khan.⁹⁶

Supported by these solicitations and by the disunity in Hindustan, Babur set out from Kabul on his fourth undertaking in January 1524.⁹⁷ He was joined by Daulat Khan and his son Dilawar Khan, who had come back from Multan on knowing about Bahadur Khan's beat. From Dipalpur Babur walked towards Sirhind, however before coming there, he chose to come back to Kabul. Babur does not state why he did this,⁹⁸ yet apparently, he withdrew, first because of the Uzbek pressure on Balkh; and, second, in light of the fact that Daulat Khan had betrayed him.

Dilawar Khan met Babur in Kabul. Just about this time one of the Afghan chiefs welcomed Prince Alam Khan Lodi son of Bahlol from Gujarat and raised the shade over his head proclaiming him sovereign under the title of Sultan Alauddin. Seeing Sultan Ibrahim Lodi as excessively incredible, Sultan Alauddin as well visited Babur's court⁹⁹ to look for his help.¹⁰⁰

Babur made satisfactory arrangements for this experience. He sent a few of his men ahead of time towards Hindustan with directions to overcome and occupy Sialkot and Lahore and its conditions and to send him information about the genuine situation of the Lodi Empire.¹⁰¹

Until further notice, Daulat Khan Acquiesced, however, was greatly annoyed at not been appointed Lahore. He felt embarrassed and even intervened in an assault on Babur. He would have done it yet for the genuineness of his own son Dilawar Khan, who notified Babur of his father's accursed aims. Babur instantly captured Daulat Khan Lodi and put him under observation.¹⁰²

⁹⁶S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*(1526-1761), p. 30.

⁹⁷*Akbarnama*, Tr.H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p.239.

⁹⁸*Baburnama*, p.442.

⁹⁹Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari* Tr. Brajendra Nath, Vol. I, Low Price Publications, New Delhi, 1992, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰John Briggs, *The History of the Rise of the Muhammedan Power in India*, p. 24

¹⁰¹Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Tr. Brajendra Nath De, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

¹⁰²*Baburnama*, p. 441.

When Alam Khan arrived at Kabul he portrayed the wretched state of his officers whom he had posted in Punjab.¹⁰³ Rather than taking the field face to face, Babur sent Alam Khan back with a firman requesting that his officers help him in overcoming Delhi. On his arrival in Lahore Alam Khan met the Mughal officers, however, the last would not follow imperial orders for they did not faith in him.¹⁰⁴ As indicated by Babur upon this Alam Khan sent Ghazi Khan's son Sher Khan¹⁰⁵ to consult with his father and Daulat Khan for a hostile and cautious union against the Mughals.

The Afghans invited Alam Khan's choice to betray the Mughals. Dilawar Khan who had figured out how to escape from his father's guardianship three months sooner and who was currently present at Lahore went along with him in his arrangements.¹⁰⁶ The two at that point convinced Mahmud Khan, the son of Khan-i-Jahan to go along with them. From there on, every one of them joined the benchmarks of Ghazi Khan the recent adversary of the Mughals.

To put it plainly, the volte-face of Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan or the malleability of Alam Khan did not improve the circumstance. It exacerbated it. They could never again have a sense of safety. Then again, Ibrahim Lodi had scored vigorously against them. Dissatisfaction and frustration stirred their sentiments of retribution and they again appealed Babur to act the hero and along these lines spare their assets.

When Babur began his fourth campaign on India in 1524, the territory of the Afghan Empire expanded nominally from Behreh, southeast of Jhelum, to Bihar. But Ibrahim Lodi's power and hold were too modest on the vast expanse of land for the various disaffected Afghan factions that ruled large parts of the country. His reign was full of confusion and rebellions.¹⁰⁷

1.2.5 Fifth Expedition

Babur's fifth and last expedition occurred toward the end of the year 1525. Babur now crossed the border for the last time (November 1525), with the biggest armed force

¹⁰³Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut- Tawarikh*, Tr. S.A. Ranking, Vol. I, Academica Asiatica, Patna, 1973, p. 436.

¹⁰⁴*Baburnama*, p. 455.

¹⁰⁵*ibid.*

¹⁰⁶*ibid.*

¹⁰⁷S.H. Askari, *Medieval Bihar, Sultanate and Mughal Period*, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, 1990, p. 64.

he had ever driven into Hindustan. Humayun was with him, with a contingent from Badakhshan.¹⁰⁸

Babur set out from Kabul on 17th November 1525.¹⁰⁹ He had just given orders to sovereign Humayun, at that point in Badakhshan, requesting that he go along with him with his military at the most punctual. In his eastward Journey which was done at a comfortable pace, his first stop was at Deh Yaqut.¹¹⁰ Here he was joined by Humayun and Khwaja Kalan. Continuing his walk he crossed the Indus on 16th December 1525. He met no resistance at all, and he pitched his camp on the banks of Nilab. He ordered his *bakhshish* to survey his military and check the number of cavalymen and infantrymen. It was accounted for that the total strength was 12,000 men.¹¹¹ Khusrau Kokaltash, who was holding the stronghold of Sialkot, had cleared it upon the approach of Ghazi Khan.¹¹² Resolute, Babur proceeded onward, yet barely had he secured some separation when it was reported for that Ghazi Khan and Daulat Khan were walking with 40,000 soldiers to block his section and repulse his intrusion.

On 29th December 1525, he continued his walk and turned towards Sialkot. He vanquished and occupied the stronghold of Sialkot, after which sent Nur Beg's brother Shaham towards Lahore to gather information concerning the whereabouts of Ghazi Khan and discover the place, where it is helpful to connect the opponent in the battle.

He presently guided his officers to open the siege of the fortress and press it overwhelmingly. On the following day, Ismail Khan, the son of Ali Khan's son of Daulat Khan left the post to inform Babur that Ghazi Khan was not in the stronghold¹¹³ and that just Daulat Khan and Ali Khan were there. Babur dexterously prevailed upon him to his side and sent him once again into the fort to work for him. Before long Daulat Khan was decreased to narrow channels and he was constrained to open negotiations for harmony. He offered to give up the fortress of Milwat on the guarantee of safe lead. Babur assented and sent Khwaja Mir Miran to accompany him to his camp. Daulat Khan was introduced before Babur in open *darbar*.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India (1526-1761)*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁹ *Baburnama*, p. 456.

¹¹⁰ *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p.2.

¹¹¹ *Baburnama*, p. 452.

¹¹² *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 4.

¹¹³ *Baburnama*, p. 459.

¹¹⁴ *ibid*.

Not long after the fortification was occupied on 7th January 1526.¹¹⁵ Ali Khan and different individuals from the family of Daulat Khan were accompanied to Mir Khalifa's home, where they were stayed.

Milwat and the encompassing territory were put in the charge of Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang, however, he left his younger brother, Arghun Sultan with certain soldiers in his place and he continued to join the sovereign.¹¹⁶

Suspecting that Ghazi Khan was still in the stronghold of Milwat, Babur ordered an exhaustive inquiry, however futile, for Ghazi¹¹⁷ had gotten away.¹¹⁸ On 10th January Babur moved from Milwat towards Delhi for a preliminary of solidarity with Ibrahim Lodi. Babur's men assaulted the fort of Kutila, situated north-east of the valley and garrisoned by Ghazi's soldiers. They about attacked it, however, night fell and the battalion got away, alongside Ghazi Khan, who had taken reject there.¹¹⁹

At the time of Babur's invasion, the social and religious conditions in Punjab were formidable. Many saints and reformers were trying their best to end the evils of that time. They were doing their best to bridge the differences between the Hindus and the Muslims and thus to bring the two communities closer.¹²⁰

1.3 Hindustan as Depicted by Babur

Babur's decision to keep the diary was probably influenced by such self-awareness - or perhaps he wrote it because he believed that it would be up to him to record his dynastic history in the prevailing turmoil of his early life.¹²¹

Babur also presented the picture of Hindustan. His thought of Hindustan is frequently transitory and apparent. He has a great power of observation and he was not only interested in the geography and history, flora and fauna, forts and palaces, temples and Khanqahs of the country, but also in the houses, dress and diet, manners and customs of the people. He had been criticized the hot weather of Hindustan and with this also

¹¹⁵*Baburnama*, pp. 459-461.

¹¹⁶*ibid.*, p. 461.

¹¹⁷Ghazi Khan escaped and joined Ibrahim, but he was killed at the battle of Panipat.

¹¹⁸Mirza Haidar Daughlat, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, Tr. N. Elias, Rev. & Ed. Denison Ross, I, *Academica Asiatica*, Patna, 1973, p. 203..

¹¹⁹Shaikh Zainuddin, *Tabaqat-i-Baburi*, photostate copy of the Rampur MS. in the Khudabakhsh Library, Patna, Tr. Hasan Askari as Zain Khan's *Tabaqat-i-Baburi*, Delhi, 1982, pp.83-84.

¹²⁰Punjab District Gazetteers, Patiala, B.R. Sharma, Chandigarh, 1992, p. 44.

¹²¹Stephen Fredric Dale, *Steppe Humanism: The autobiographical writings of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur*, 1483-1530, p. 50

praised many things of Hindustan. He pointed out the defects of Hindustan, and for “being led away by the haughty contempt so natural to a foreigner.”¹²²

When Babur visited Hindustan, he found it different from his own country Kabul. It was difficult for Babur to understand Hindustan. He wrote in his autobiography¹²³ about Hindustan, “It is a wonderful country. Compared with our countries it is a different world; its mountains, rivers, jungles and deserts, its towns, its cultivated lands, its animals and plants, its people and their tongues, its rains, and its winds, are all different.”¹²⁴

Elphinstone inscribed, “a man of genius and observation, and presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their appearance, manners, pursuits, and actions, as clearly as in a mirror..... In Babur the figures, dress, tastes, and habits of each individual introduced are described with such minuteness and that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters. His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry, are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found, in equal space, in any modern traveller; and, considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising.”¹²⁵

S.R. Sharma expressed, “His first experience of this strange land, however, was not unlike that of any other stranger. He thought, ‘The country and towns of Hindustan are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform look: its gardens have no walls; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places the plain is covered by a thorny brush-wood to such a degree that the people of the *parganas*, relying on these forests. Take shelter in them, and trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes.”¹²⁶

Babur wrote in his *Baburnama* also about the flora and fauna of Hindustan, the social and economic life of the people of India.

¹²²K. M. Ashraf, *Life and conditions of the people of Hindustan*, ManoharLal, New Delhi, 1970, p. 277.

¹²³That is known by *Baburnama*.

¹²⁴*Baburnama*, p.484.

¹²⁵M. Elphinstone, *History of India: the Hindu and Mohamedan Periods*, KitabMahal, Allahabad, 1966, p. 438.

¹²⁶S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India(1526-1761)*, p.10.

Babur was keen on the lovely environment, trees, animals, birds, flowers and so on. He has given a portrayal of every one of these things in his memoirs. He was not only interested in the birds and animals and the territory where he moved, yet besides, compared them with the birds and animals which he had seen on different lands. It shows his more profound feeling of perception and his enthusiasm for birds and animals was excessive. He was able to categorize the birds and animals in their class and genus. He was able to discover very subtle distinctions in diverse varieties.¹²⁷

Babur's affection for fruits and natural beauty assimilated him with a craving for arranging gardens. He had admitted that one of the disadvantages in India was the absence of gardens and the first thing he did in quite a while was to start a program of gardening. On each side of his realm, he planted reasonable gardens. On the banks of the Jumna, he raised a few gardens with wonderful blossoms and fruit plants.

Babur's extraordinary commitment to India's embellishment was his specialty of garden arranging and construction, which came to the individuals of Central Asia through Persia and had been completely created in Turkistan. He worked at any rate ten gardens in Kabul, in which, as he lets us know, *oranges*, *citrons*, and *pomegranates* developed in wealth. "Those were the days of the garden's beauty," he composes after a visit to the last-mentioned; its gardens were one sheet of clover; its pomegranate trees yellowed to autumn time quality, their fruit full red; fruit on the orange-trees green and happy, endless oranges, however not yet as yellow as our hearts wanted.¹²⁸

Babur given the depiction of the Hindus in his memoirs, he expressed that "Most of the inhabitants of Hindustan are pagans. Many Hindus believe in the transmigration of soul. All artisans, wage-earners, and officials are Hindus. In our countries dwellers in the wilds (i.e., nomads) get tribal names; here the settled people of the cultivated lands and villages get tribal names." He also remarked about the artisans that they follows the "trade that has come down to him from forefather to forefather,"¹²⁹ again "there is a fixed caste for every sort of work and for everything, which has done that work or that thing comes from father to son till now."¹³⁰ It shows the arrangement of genetic professions. There was a huge supply of skilled labour accessible in India. Babur praised it.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Jena Krushnachandra, *Baburnama and Babur*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1978, p. 48.

¹²⁸ S. M. Edwardes, *Babur: Diarist and Despot*, Philpot, London, 1926, p.119.

¹²⁹ *Baburnama*, p. 518.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 520.

¹³¹ Irfan Habib, *Technology and Society in Mughal India*, Symposium Problems of Acclimatization of Foreign Technology Tokyo, 25-28 February 1980, p. 30

As indicated by Babur the individuals of Hindustan, "have no good looks."¹³² He made reference to the caste system and the prohibition of inter-dining among Hindus; Babur compared the individuals of Kabul with the individuals of Hindustan who needed manners.¹³³ Babur found in Hindustan "no good horses, no good dogs"¹³⁴ since horses and dogs of the great breed were imported from outside. He additionally commented that "no good bread, or cooked food in the bazaars, no Hot-baths, no colleges " are found in Hindustan.¹³⁵

Rushbrook William additionally given Babur's perception of Hindustan. He commented that "In his disgust at finding how greatly the inhabitants of Hindustan differed from his own men of Kabul. Although Hindustan is a country naturally full of charm yet its inhabitants are devoid of grace; and in intercourse with them there is neither friendly society nor stable relationship. They have no genius, no comprehension, no politeness, no generosity, no robustness of feeling. In their ideas, as in their methods of production, they lack manners, rules, etc. again "no baths, candles, torches, schools, or even candlesticks."¹³⁶

Babur liked the atmosphere of Hindustan and watched: "While it rains and through the rains, the air is remarkably fine, not to be surpassed for healthiness and charm.... Not only in the rains but also in the cold and the hot seasons, the airs are excellent.... The weather is hot under the Bull and Twins, but not intolerably so, not so hot as in Balkh and Qandahar and not for half so long."¹³⁷

Babur appreciated India's extravagance. It had lots of gold and silver. In the blustery season, its air is fine yet there is as well an absence of it the air turns out to be extremely pliable and moist. Babur was 'oppressed' by three things in Hindustan-"its heat, its violent winds and its dust",¹³⁸ and to secure himself against them, he built the bath, where the dust had no impact, and wherein the hot climate it was cold.¹³⁹

¹³²Zain Khan, *Tabaqat-i-Baburi*; Tr. S. Hasan Askari, op. cit., p. 518.

¹³³ibid.

¹³⁴ibid.

¹³⁵*Baburnama*, p. 518.

¹³⁶L. F. Rushbrook William., *An Empire Builder in India of the Sixteenth Century*. Longmans Green & Co., Delhi, 1918, p. 139.

¹³⁷*Baburnama*, pp. 519-20.

¹³⁸*Baburnama*.p. 532.

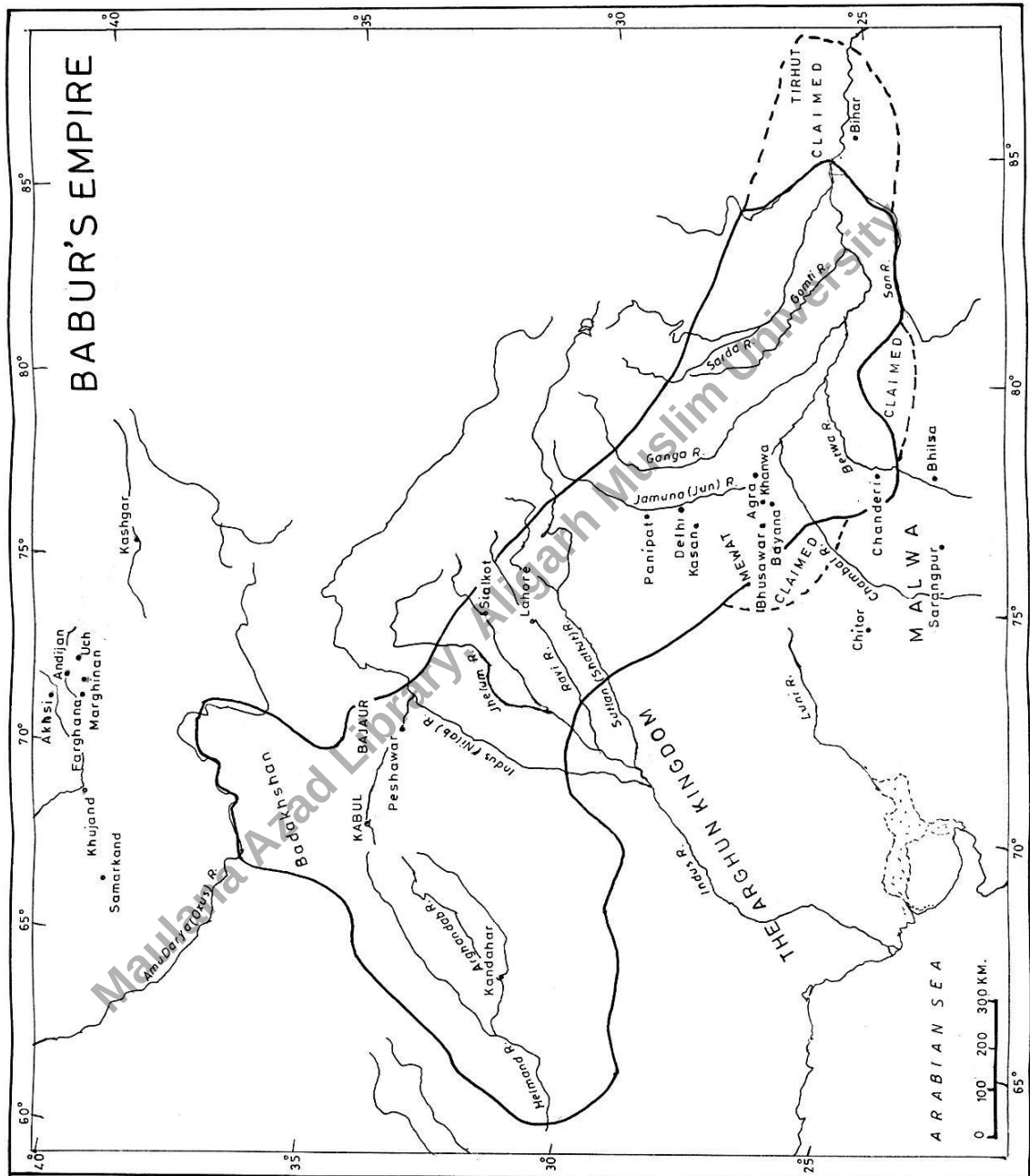
¹³⁹Muhibbul Hasan, *Babur: the Founder of the Mughal Empire in India*, Manohar Publication, Delhi, 1985, p.134.

Babur vanquished India his objective was not of looting the captured region to enhance his own property, just like the case with different conquerors.¹⁴⁰

Thus, conclude this exploratory study of the founding of the Mughal Empire. The Mughal Empire was a great Era which has given India a very rich and great history. Babur was an excellent general and a good ruler. He did not do well in the politics of Asia and his victory over Afghanistan was not spectacular. It was only his success in India that gave him the place of an important ruler.

Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University

¹⁴⁰Hamid Suleiman, *Miniatures of Baburnama*. Tashkent, Fan Publishing House of the Uzbek S.S.R; 1970, p. 29.



CHAPTER-2
***BABUR'S INTERFACE WITH THE
AFGHANS AND THE RAJPUTS***

Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University

In north-west India the political situation was suitable for Babur's entry into India. In 1517 Sikandar Lodi had died and the Lodi Empire was succeeded by Ibrahim Lodi. It was Ibrahim's efforts, who create a large centralized Empire that had alarmed the Afghan chiefs as well as the Rajputs. Daulat Khan Lodi was one of the most powerful Afghan chief, who was the governor of Punjab, almost an independent ruler.

Babur thought seriously for the first time of occupying Delhi, according to his own testimony, after taking the town he sent a message to the newly enthroned ruler of Delhi, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, claiming the territories which Timur had conquered in 1398. By 1523 Babur established his authority over Lahore, the capital of Punjab.¹

When the Mughals came to power, the problem of the ruling class appeared more complex than before. The Turks, Mughals, Afghans, Persians, Indian Muslims and Rajputs who fought for supremacy in the state.²

2.1 Military Stratagem

Taking a lesson from the defeat of Shah of Persia at the hands of the Sultan Salim, the ruler of Constantinople in the battle of Chaldiran, where the latter had made use of artillery and small arms, Babur too determined to adopt the new technique of fighting. Consequently, he obtained the assistance of the Turkish artillerymen and musketeers to train his men in the new technique of warfare.³

Babur planned to prepare for battle against Ibrahim Lodi. He has arranged his army in battle array with three wings-the right, left wing and centre. But he realized that his troops which he put into the field for the battle to be less than what he had imagined.⁴ Ustad Ali Quli was ordered by Babur to join in Ottoman fashion the seven hundred carts which he had secured with ropes, and fix between every two carts five or six mantelets, beyond which the arquebusmen were to stand and fire.⁵ After completing these arrangements in five or six days, he called a General Council of Turki, Indian and Mughal nobles. Then he was decided to move towards the town of Panipat with its crowded houses and suburbs, which would provide a strong position to his army.

¹Baburnama, p. 463.

² K.A. Nizami, *The Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire: Genesis and Salient Features*, 8th Conference International Association of Historians of Asia Kuala Lumpur, 25th to 29th August, 1980, pp. 23-24

³Radhey Shyam, *Babur*, pp. 253-54.

⁴Baburnama, p. 468.

⁵ibid., p. 469; *Tabqat-i-Baburi*, p. 100.

Babur reached Panipat on 12 April, stayed only for one night on the way, and taking up a very strong position. The town protected his right wing; the carts and the mantelets were on his front, behind which the foot and the arquebusmen were to stand, the ditches and the branches of the trees were on the left wing. At distances of an arrow's flight, a space was left for hundred to two hundred men to attempt sallies.⁶

Humayun was instructed to prevent Hamid Khan from affecting a junction with the main army which was advancing from Delhi.⁷ Fortunately for the prince Hamid Khan proved to be a coward. He broke up and fled without any resistance whatsoever.⁸ The occupation of Hissar Firoza and Jullundhar followed this, which was confirmed Babur's hold on the Punjab besides bringing to him strategic military advantage.⁹

Babur was prepared to move forward with great caution and care. Scouts and spies were spreaded in all directions to keep him reported about the latest developments in the enemy's camp. From Ambala Babur started to move towards Shahabad, he encamped here for few days, after that crossed Jamuna and reached at Sarsawa. Babur ordered and set Haider Quli to collect information. He informed that Daud Khan and Hatim Khan had sent in advance by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi with the instructions to cross Jamuna with five to six thousand men and that they were encamping within six to seven miles from the Mughal camp.¹⁰

Babur left Sarsawa and started the march in preparations of full battle formation, and had been instructed the officers to be ready for the battle. All available carts were collected by the soldiers. There was approx seven hundred carts were collected and they were fastened together by leathured ropes. Shields were fixed between every two carts and behind every shield, matchlockmen were posted with instructions to open fire when ordered to do it.

Stephen Dale inscribed, "Babur reports that stationed his army with the town of Panipat guarding his right flank while the left flank was protected by a system of ditches. Across the centre of the battlefield he had some seven hundred carts tied together in the "Anatolian manner." Babur had undoubtedly learned this tactic from his Ottoman firearms expert."¹¹

⁶ibid., p. 469.

⁷ *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Tr. S. A. Ranking, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 439.

⁸ *Baburnama*, p. 466.

⁹ Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Tr. Brajendra Nath De, Vol. II, p. 16.

¹⁰ Radhey Shyam, *Babur*, p. 302.

¹¹ Stephen F Dale, *The poetry and Autobiography of the Baburnama*, Association for Asian Studies, p. 328.

In tactical terms the swift encircling maneuver of his flanking contingents of mounted archers and swordsmen carried the day. In his plan of battle he mentioned that these contingents known as *tulughma*¹² were to remain in ambush and then as the enemy approached, circle around from both the right and the left to the enemy's rear.¹³

Babur's description of missiles fired by the Bengalis at the Battle of Ghaghra (A.D. 1529) appeared to imply that the *ban* was only one type of firearm acquired by them.¹⁴

Lanepoole also described Babur's strategy for the battle of Panipat, "For several days Babur was busy with his preparations; he collected seven hundred gun carts, and formed a larger by linking them together with twisted bull hides, to break a cavalry charge, and by arranging hurdles or shields (*tura*) between each pair to protect the matchlockmen. Then two marches more brought the army to Panipat. Here he stationed the army in such a way that he had the town on his right; his entre was formed by the cannon and matchlocks, and the left was strengthened by ditches and abates of trees. He was careful to leave gaps in his line a bowshot apart, through which a hundred or a hundred and fifty men could charge abreast."¹⁵

The full experience of warfare had ascertained Babur's strategy and he had determined to repulse the enemy's forces into a small group bulk upon which Ustad Ali and Mustafa, his artillery commanders, could direct their drumfire. To create this condition, he compiled all his baggage carts and some others from the countryside and he tightened these together by ropes of uncooked skin, ordering them in an expanded line. This line was not continuous and at intervals large gaps were left for the organization of his cavalry- for 150 to 200 horses to rush out and movement at a favourable moment. The musketeers and artillerymen were provided special shelter by small breastworks constructed in considerable numbers.¹⁶

Kishori Saran Lal described Babur's battle plan, "The two armies lay facing each other for eight days, April 12 to 19, but neither side took the offensive. Feeling convinced that delay would imperil his whole plan, Babur dispatched an advance force

¹²This was the usual uzbek tactic, Babur learnt this from Shaibani Khan, at the battle of Sir-i-Pul.

¹³Stephen Dale, *The Poetry and Autobiography of the Baburnama*, op. cit., p. 330.

¹⁴Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Early use of Cannon and Musket in India: AD 1442-1526*, Indian History Congress Proceedings 39th Session Hyderabad, 1978, p. 154

¹⁵Stanley Lanepoole, *Babur*, pp. 161-162.

¹⁶Babur, *Baburnama*, pp. 468-71.

on the 19th under Mahdi Khwaja to attack the enemy. The surprise failed, but it helped provoke the adversary into launching an attack. On the morning of 21 April, 1526 (8 Rajab, 932H) Ibrahim's army advanced to attack. On the opposite side the Turki-Mughal army was drawn up in the traditional formation of Right, Centre, Left and Van, but there were large flanking parties (*tulughma*) for each of the formations. The main right wing was under the command of Prince Humayun, and the main left was under Mahdi Khwaja. The Van was led by Khusrau Kokaltash and Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang. Ustad Ali with the heavy pieces was posted on the right of the centre, and Mustafa with lighter pieces on the left of it. Babur, of course, was in the centre."¹⁷

Edward S. Holden also inscribed that "Babur learned the art of war in a rough school, and he learned it thoroughly. On one occasion, much plunder was unjustly taken by his men, which he made them give up. "Such was the discipline of my army that the whole was restored without reserve and before the first watch of the next day was over, there was not a bit of thread or a broken needle that was not restored to its owner." He was one of the first to introduce concerted action of divisions of his army in the place of mad rushes of separate hordes and tribes."¹⁸

Muhibbul Hasan marked about the battle plan of Khanwa, "The battle began on the morning of March 1527, when the Rajput left wing advanced against the Turkish right wing and attacked Khusrau Kukuldash and Baba Qashqa's brother, Malik Qasim, but Chin Timur Sultan hastened to their help and repelled the attack. Mustafa, who was in the centre of the right wing, brought forward the carts with the arquebuses and the culverins and broke the ranks of the enemy Qasim Husain sultan, Ahmad Yusuf, Qawam Beg of the right wing as well as Muhammadi Kukuldash, Yunus Ali, Shah Mansur Barlas, Abdullah, Dost, and Mohammad Khalil, the *akhtabegi* (master gelder) of the centre were also sent to their assistance. Despite this, the Rajput right wing repeatedly attacked the Turkish left, though it failed to create an impression. At this moment the flanking parties were ordered to attack the Rajput rear with the help of Khwaja Mahmud and Ali Ataka, servants of Khalifa. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan and other officers of the left wing fought bravely and stood firm."¹⁹

¹⁷Kishori Saran Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, Asia Publishing House, Delhi, 1963, p. 223.

¹⁸ Edward S. Holden, *The Mughal Emperors of Hindustan*, Metro Co. Pvt., Delhi, 1975, p. 65

¹⁹Muhibbul Hasan, *Babur the Founder of the Mughal Empire in India*, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

Keene expressed about the scene of the first battle of Panipat, "On one side were the courage of despair, and something of the resources of scientific warfare; on the other side, men-at-arms of medieval type, with crowded ranks of spear-men and archers thronging on in fool-hardy disorder.." ²⁰

The survey of the territories conferred by Babur on his nobles shows that in most cases, except two or three, the conquest of the various territories and forts preceded their bestowal and the administrative settlement that Babur made did not include only assignments to the Beks, but it reveals a diverse pattern in different parts of his empire in India. ²¹

Babur saw the absence of judgment among the Afghans. One such noticeable figure was Daulat Khan Lodi, who was a legislative leader of Lahore when Babur captured Bhira in 1519; Daulat Khan Lodi spoke to Babur for collusion against Ibrahim in Delhi. Babur delegated one of his Farghana officials, Hindu Beg, to oversee Bhira, Babur and his men enjoyed the wine and significant gatherings.

A while later, Babur and his military moved towards the Indus, they crushed one gathering of Afghans whose leader was an "evil man" and an expressway looter. When Babur left the territory of Bhira the Afghans and different landholders in and around Bhira lost their upheld loyalty and removed Babur's legislative head of Bhira, Hindu Beg.

Ibrahim Lodi's motivation was to change the Lodi state from an Afghan ancestral government into centralized military despotism therefore he opened talks with Babur by sending his child Dilawar Khan to Kabul. Presently Daulat Khan got an uneasy union together with Ibrahim's maturing uncle, Alam Khan, and looked for Babur's assistance to challenge and probably topple the ruling Lodi ruler.

There was as well disunity among the Afghan nobles so they welcomed Babur to attack Hindustan. Babur occupied towns like Lahore, Dipalpur, Sirhind, and so forth. Babur had numerous characteristics; one of them was if Babur had vowed to anybody, he would adhere to his words. Naimtullah states that "it was not Babur, but Daulat Khan

²⁰S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*, p. 19.

²¹ Ahsan Raza Khan, *Babur's Settlements of his Conquest in Hindustan*, Proceedings of the 29th Session of Indian History Congress, Patiyala, 1967, p. 2

and his son Ghazi Khan who did not keep their promise".²² For example, Babur offered Sultanpur to Dilawar Khan and the title of *Khan-i-Khanan*, offered Dipalpur to Alam Khan, Sialkot to Kukuldash; Kalanaur to Muhammad Ali Tajik, and Lahore to Abdul Aziz, the *Mir Akhwar*.²³

The Afghans were known as brutal swordsmen and they needed to impede Babur's march. Babur has noticed a curious custom of the Afghans. "The Afghans, when they are reduced to extremities in war, come into the presence of their enemy with grass between their teeth; being as much as to say, 'I first observed on the present occasion; for the Afghans, when they could not maintain the contest, approached us with grass in their teeth.'

Babur's view about the Lodi Sultan's arranging and absence of forcefulness, and reports he let one know of his *begs* that as an authority Ibrahim came up short on the generalship. Babur composes that Ibrahim was an over the top recluse to spend his sumptuous assets to contract extra troops, even though it is hard to envision that a huge number of unrestrained hired fighters would have fundamentally affected the fight, other than to slow the development of the Afghan armed force, whose most extreme pace of progress was at that point restricted to the speed of its elephants. Any Lodi administrators abandoned previously or during the fight, regardless of the distress that had come about because of Ibrahim's harsh principle.²⁴

As per Babur, Abul Fazl, Badauni, Farishta, and Nizamuddin, Ibrahim's powers were comprised of a hundred thousand men and one thousand elephants.²⁵

A portion of Babur's men were apprehensive and disheartened as a result of knowing the numerical predominance of the foe, however, Babur encouraged them with fortitude. He said to them to shed dread, contending that what God has ordained cannot be changed.²⁶ He cited the Quranic verse: "Sometimes a small body comes out victorious over a large one, when God wills so."²⁷

²² Khwaja Naimatullah Bin Khwaja Habibullah, *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani-wa-Makhzan-i Afghani*, Vol. I, Zeko Press, Dhaka, 1960, p. 256

²³ *Baburnama*, p. 442.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 473.

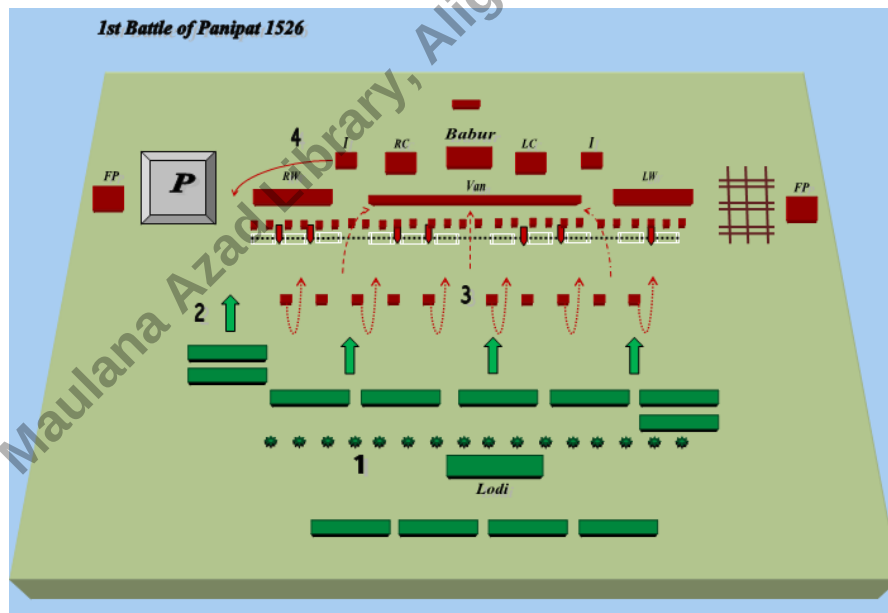
²⁵ *Baburnama*, p. 480; *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, pp. 241, 245; Muhammad Qasim Farishta, *Tarikh-i Farishta*, Tr. Briggs, *History of the rise of the Mohammadan Power in India*, Vol. I, Editions Indian, Calcutta, 1966, p. 204; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 440; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 14.

²⁶ *Baburnama*, p. 469.

²⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 13.

Babur was an officer, a military general and utilized his *tulughma* strategies while Ibrahim had countless military yet no strategies. Babur was exploited, and to arrange his officers to wheel around from the extraordinary right and left and to assault the Afghan armed force by raining arrows on them. He also ordered to the right and left wings to assault on the enemy. Babur's military was organized totally, that is the reason the Afghans were showered by the arrows from the front, left and right ended up stitched in. Afghans attempted to battle once more, however, assaulted from all sides they amassed upon their centre, complicated and vulnerable and were directed with extraordinary misfortune Babur's strong tactics and his mobile cavalry equipped with the bow had prompted his triumph. Close around sixteen thousand Afghans fell on the combat zone.²⁸

Babur organized his military in the field of Panipat with the right, the left and the centre wing. His military was restricted.²⁹ It is probably the most punctual fight in history that included the utilization of gunpowder, firearms and artillery. His new strategies were the "*Tulughma*" and the "*Araba*." *Tulughma* was a battle formation separating the entire armed force into different units, for example, the left, the right and the centre.



Plan of Battle of Panipat

Babur portrayed *tulughma* arrangement in his diaries, “for the *tulughma* at the point of the right wing, we fixed on Red Wali and Malik Qasim, brother of Baba Qashqa, with their Mughals; for the *tulughma* at the point of the left wing, we arrayed Qara-quzi,

²⁸ *Baburnama*, p. 474.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 468.

Abul Muhammad the lance-player, Shaikh Jamal Barin's Shaikh Ali Mahndi and Tingri-birdi Bashaghi Mughal; these two parties, directly the enemy got near, were to turn his rear, one from the right, the other from the left." This was the course of action of Babur's *tulughma* strategies.³⁰

Firearms had just been utilized in India in the Deccan and Gujrat, yet Babur's firearms guide was Ustad Ali Quli, who by proof of the consequent story was viewed as the master in Rumi or Ottoman weapons and strategies, later in India exhorting on battle formations and building Babur an incredible mortar.³¹ The Afghan rulers, the Lodis, and afterward the Surs too, closely relied on ban³² in their blockade actions.³³

Although Babar was the master of Delhi and Agra and other neighbouring provinces, he was threatened from two quarters, and he had to decide who he would face first, the Afghan Confederates in the East or the Rajput Confederation in the west. He first resolved to drive away the Afghans, as they were not only enemies in their hands, but their relations with the country were also the most feared while "Rana Sanga was not, on the whole, a very formidable enemy."³⁴

2.2 Battle of Panipat

Babur attacked Ibrahim Lodi, on 12th April 1526³⁵ at Panipat, a small village situated on the north of Delhi. When Babur crossed the Indus in mid-December, Lahore was once again at least nominally under the control of the aged Daulat Khan, and having lost loyalty Lodi governor who had invited Babur into India in his absence he had driven out Babur's officers from the city. However, Daulat Khan's hope of holding the region for himself had disappeared when Ibrahim defeated the army that one of his sons and Alam Khan had led against Delhi. If Alam Khan had been victorious at Delhi and then recognized as the new Lodi Sultan, he might have turned his army back to Punjab to unite with Daulat Khan's forces and oppose Babur's claims.³⁶

In 1526 the Rajput Coalition, consisting of the Rajas of Chittor, Malwa, Mewar and Ajmer met Babur and his Mughals at Fatehpur Sikri.³⁷

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 473.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 466.

³² It was one of the gunpowder-based weapons used in India.

³³ Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Coming of Gunpowder and the Response of Indian Polity*, Lectures at Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, 1980, p. 24

³⁴ S. H. Askari, *Medieval Bihar Sultanate and Mughal Period*. op. cit., p. 65

³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 469.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 442.

³⁷ Captain A.H. Bingley, *Hand Book on Rajputs*, Asian Educational services, New Delhi, 1899, p. 10.

Babur formed his battle which I had been given detailed information in the first topic of this chapter that is a Military stratagem. They have easily discharged arrows on the foe's army without uncovering themselves to onslaughts from the other side. Babur was serious about Delhi, after taking Delhi, he had been sent a message to newly invested ruler of Delhi, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, ruler of the Lodi dynasty, Babur was claimed the territories which Timur had conquered in 1398.

As I mentioned earlier Ibrahim Lodi's army numerically was superior, because of this certain people of Babur's army were terrified and demoralized. Their existence was at an inordinate aloofness from their families, among peculiar persons, expressing a diverse dialect. Babur was aware of their worries and strains; however, assured of decisive triumph, he instigated them through valour. He appealed upon them to shelter anxiety, in the conflict that what God has intended cannot be transformed.³⁸ He cited the Quranic verse: "Sometimes a small body comes out victorious over a large one when God wills so."³⁹ He flourished in undoubted his men who recruited to sacrifice their survives in the battle against Ibrahim Lodi.⁴⁰

There first time Ibrahim Lodi's appearance with mounted troops supported by artillery. The Lodi ruler must have retained brief information on Babur's strategy of compelling him to attack the centre where foe guns would have stirred him down. Thus he avoided the centre, pushed his left wing advancing and "like the Hindus struck like lightning"⁴¹ on Babur's right. Then as the Afghans pushed on, they set up themselves attacking upon an opposite for shorter than had been awaited and could not decide whether to attack or to stop working, "to stop or not, advance or not." Temporarily Babur's flanking parties (*tulughma*) wheeled around and encircled the Afghans.

Babur stayed around a week at Panipat, Babur's troops attempted to pull out the foe by approaching his camp and shooting arrows and wounding off laggards, on the other hand, Ibrahim Lodi did not proceed. At the culmination Mughal Emperor Babur, on the advice of certain Hindustani superiors, they were enthusiastic to him, sent insulation of 4,000 or 5,000 men under Mahdi Khwaja, Sultan Junaid Barlas, Abdul Aziz and Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang for a night attack. But it verified unsuccessful for the

³⁸ *Baburnama*, p. 469.

³⁹ *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 13.

⁴⁰ *Tabqat-i-Baburi*, pp. 100-101.

⁴¹ Muhammad Qasim Farishta, *Tarikh-i- Farishta*, op.cit., p. 205

reason that chiefs were abortive to align their activities. They were remained around the foe's camp while waiting for the hours of the daylight, and take out only when the Afghans were ready to attack them and met Humayun who had been sent to cover their revert. They did not brook any forfeiture of liveliness. Even though the foe slung on their nurture but Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang's leg was maimed by an arrow and, in consequence, he could not justify himself very effectively at Panipat.⁴²

The Afghan army was forward-looking due to inspired by the disappointment of the night onslaught by Babur's army. Babur awared his troops to be prepared for action.⁴³ His right side was directed by Humayun, Khwaja Kalan, Sultan Muhammad Dul dai, a Barlas Turk, Hindu Beg, Wali Khazin (the treasurer) and Pir Quli Sistani; the left was commanded by Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja, Adil Sultan, Sah Mir Husain, Sultan Junaid Barlas, Qutluq Qadam, Jan Beg, Muhammad Bakhshi. Babur himself was in the centre of the army at such a place as to be capable to observe the advancement of the battle and to issue orders to his officers.⁴⁴

The battle was at the moment the maximum fluctuated. The passion of Babur's musketeers and artillery-men made extra dismay than definite destruction,⁴⁵ but the first-hand arms did not crash to motivate fear in the hearts of the Hindustani soldiers. Sporadic passion accompanied by the prosperous of gum and the clatter of matchlocks from the front, and the assault by arrow and sword on the sides and from the rearmost on the blocked form of the Afghan army, which it had become rapidly next the battle had initiated, obvious the day. With noontime folks of the Afghan army who could remove themselves were escaping for lifespan, although the field was scattered with thousands of finished. While the day appeared to have irreversibly vanished, Mahmud Khan suggested to Ibrahim to leave the arena, but the forceful Afghan would not listen to such guidance.⁴⁶ He struggled to the vicious culminated and perished alike soldiers. Around his body lay five to six thousand of his courageous troopers. The slight army of Babur had assassinated about three times its own number—"a terrible testimony alike to the skill of the leader and the deadliness of his scientific combination of cavalry and artillery."⁴⁷

⁴² Baburnama, p. 471.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 472-73.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 472

⁴⁵ Rushbrook William, *An Empire Builder in India of the Sixteenth Century*. op.cit., p. 136.

⁴⁶ Baburnama, pp. 474-75.

⁴⁷ R. Williams, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 137.

Sultan Ibrahim Lodi sent a secure to Daulat Khan Lodi. He wrote, "You have risen to this position due to the kindness of my father and have been governor of Punjab for twenty years. What have you done now? You have brought the Mughals to the kingdom of my fore-fathers and You have with your hands have ruined the Afghans? Now I conclude peace with you and assure you that I shall never think ill about you and your sons. By *Quran* I swear and leave it to you to think over again and do not allow your heart to be prejudiced." After receiving this *firman* Daulat Khan Lodi sent a reply, "It is true that I am your dependent and that Sikandar had lifted me from the ground by conferring honours on me. I spent my life in his service. The late king used to honour his nobles and encourage them. He never tried to destroy them. But persons like you have been befooled by shortsighted men, who have uprooted the foundations of the kingdom and destroyed the pillars of His Majesty's power i.e. the slaves of your father. Now they do not trust you. It is not I who have brought the Mughals but your ill-treatment has brought them to this country."⁴⁸

One day Ibrahim Lodi asked his astrologers about the results of the subsequent battle. Very smartly they replied that "it appears from the movements of the stars that our horses and elephants entered the ranks of the Mughal army."⁴⁹ Upon this, the Sultan Ibrahim Lodi mentioned, "does it mean that we would gain victory over the Mughals." They answered, "the same is true." Therefore Ibrahim Lodi restarted his march and proceeds onward. One day earlier the battle on 19th April 1526, he called all his amirs and soldiers and said them to put on whatever they have. After this he ordered that a large *Shamyana* (canopy) be set up and system be made for a *jashn*. The Sultan dispensed gold, silver, pearls, etc. between his nobles and soldiers and formerly spoken them, "Comrades! Tomorrow is the day when we shall be engaged in a contest against the Mughals. If victory comes to me I shall try to satisfy you and if it is otherwise you should be reconciled to me what I am doing now."⁵⁰

Now Sultan Ibrahim Lodi moved towards Panipat with a hundred thousand soldiers and one thousand elephants⁵¹ but the fact is that when he grasped the town of

⁴⁸ Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 94; cited in: Radhey Shyam, Babar, p. 304.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 95.

⁵¹ Abdullah, *Tarikh- i- Daudi*, Dept. of History, AMU, Aligarh, 1954, p. 104

Panipat on 12th April, he had with him not more than fifty thousand soldiers and nearly 1,000 elephants.⁵²

On 19th and 20th April Babur's commanders kept on to foray on foe's camp to stimulate Ibrahim Lodi to proceed onward open violat. ⁵³ They showered arrows upon his commanders, confiscating and trimming off their heads and regressing to the base camp with the skulls of the dead as trophies of war. These successful forays cheered soldiers of Babur. Besides this, neither did Sultan Ibrahim Lodi move out to unfasten the violative nor did his soldiers shake out. It was a tactical blooper on his portion.

The battle of Panipat was fought on 20th April 1526. ⁵⁴ It was an unable challenge between, fire and man. It affirmed Babur's superior generalship, military technique, excellent kill and ability to chain effectively the artillery with cavalry. Babur won the battle because of his new strategy, use of firearms, and superior cavalry. Reference should also be complete of his better info service and his success in upholding his line of message with the base and in making satisfactory requirements for meeting the necessities of his soldiers. As well, Babur's aggressive deed and concentrated and co-operative turning on the part of his men safeguarded pivotal win. There is no disbelief that the first battle of Panipat was one of the supreme battles eternally clashed on the soil of Hindustan.

After Ibrahim's defeat at Panipat, the Afghan nobles gathered in Jaunpur and Babur sent Kamran with Amir Quli Beg in Pursuit. The Afghans moved to Patna before that and thus Awadh fell into the hands of the Mughal invaders. ⁵⁵

Lanepoole inscribed, "To the Afghans of Delhi, the battle of Panipat was their Cannae. It was the ruin of their dominion, the end of their power. In their despair they raised their dead Sultan, poor creature as he was, to the sanctity of a martyr, and long-continued to make pilgrimages to his grave. The battlefield became an uncanny spot which no man cared to pass after dark. Wailing and groans and other supernatural sounds were heard thereof nights; and the historian Badauni, a man of veracity in his way, crossing the haunted plain one night with some friends, heard the dreadful voices,

⁵² Baburnama, p. 470.

⁵³ Baburnama, p. 471.

⁵⁴ ibid., p. 474.

⁵⁵ Fyzabad: A Gazetteer of the United Provinces of Agra and Awadh, p. 155.

and fell to repeating the holy names of God as a protection from the awful influences around him.”⁵⁶

The battle of Panipat verified to be as decisive as it was optimistic. The Afghan supremacy was ruined and the Sultanate of Delhi approved into the hands of the Chaghtai Turks they better known by the Mughals.

Briefly after the end of the battle of Panipat, Babur sent a depending of troops under prince Humayun and Khwaja Kalan near Agra with directions to take ownership of the city. At the same time, an additional army was posted under Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan and others to triumph over and reside in Delhi.⁵⁷ And Prince Humayun grasped Agra on 4th May 1526. He originates that the Afghans such as Malik Dad Karrani, Milli Sarduk and Firoz Khan Mewati had rooted themselves in the fort and were determined upon contribution in flexible confrontation to the intruders. Upon this Humayun determined to open the siege of the fort. He engaged the town and detained the treasury, then he inclined the camp outside the town protection a close watch over his soldiers for fear that they should loot the residents. After two days, he got the victory on the followers of Vikramajit, the sovereign of Gwalior, beating them in well-disputed action. Therefore, he energetically pushed the barrier of the fort and forced the barracks to submission it. On the day the fort was engaged the *Khutba* was recited in Babur's name.⁵⁸

Babur made a considerable parade of the return of the victorious branch of Humayun, killing the prisoners by torrents from the matchlockmen, rewarding his son with Hisar territory, a war horse, and a suit of honour.⁵⁹

The battle of Panipat had only rubbed off Lodi dynasty; it did not incantation peacetime and peacefulness. After the victory of Panipat Babur was now the ruler of Delhi, but not so far ruler of Hindustan. The people were aggressive to the outsiders of the bad-mannered tongue, and each town and minor ruler ready for determined confrontation.

⁵⁶ Stanley Lanepoole, *Babur*, p. 166.

⁵⁷ *Baburnama*, p. 475.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, See also, John Briggs, *The History of the Rise of the Muhammedan Power in India*, Vol. II, p. 29.

⁵⁹ Lamb Harold, *Babur the Tiger, First of the Great Moguls*, Robert Hale Limited, London, 1962, p. 158.

2.3 Babur and the Rajputs

When Babur understood the danger of an attack from the Rajputs, he made the disposition of his troops, and ordered his commanders to take up their position with their respective divisions. As soon as the commanders had taken their position, they were directed neither to leave their positions nor to start the fight until they had received orders.⁶⁰

When Babur was in Kabul, Rana Sanga, had sent an emissary with his good wishes and a message: "If the honoured Padshah will come to near Delhi from that side, I from this will move on Agra."⁶¹ Then Rana Sanga did not accomplish his share of the potential and did not move to the support of Babur.⁶²

Rana Sanga had anticipated Babur to go back to Kabul subsequently the battle of Panipat, leave alone him free to institute his dominion in Hindustan. But Babur's determination to remain in the country both frustrated and wrathed him, for it rushed the prize of Hindustan from his hold. He consequently determined to campaign him out. Babur was aware of Rana Sanga's aspiring projects and was influenced after his occupation of Qandahar that he was "in a hostile and mischievous attitude,"⁶³ but due to the reasons previously conferred, Babur could not uninterrupted his responsiveness towards him.

Rana Sanga had proceeded from Qandahar on 16 February to capitalize Biana. He had then advanced to Bhusawar to interrupt supplies coming either from Agra or Kabul.⁶⁴ On 13 March he grasped Khanwa, and engaged a place nearby the village on 17th, approx. four miles from Babur's camp, with an army of 201,000 men. This included, as well as his own strength, the legations of his supporters and arms. Therefore Silhadi, the chief of Raisin, originated with 30,000 men; Hasan Khan Mewati derived with 12,000 men. Rawal Udai Singh Nagari of Dongarpur, Medini Rai of Chanderi and Mahmud Khan Lodi, the son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, admitted as the legalized descendant of Ibrahim Lodi by the associates, every one conveyed 10,000 men. In addition to this, the minor rulers transported with them from four to seven thousand men.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ *Baburnama*, p. 568.

⁶¹ *Baburnama*, p. 529.

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 530.

⁶⁴ G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, Shivalal Agarwala, Agra, 1962, p. 28

⁶⁵ *Baburnama*, p. 573.

Babur finished the temperament of his troops, and well-ordered his commanders to take up their place with their respective divisions because he supposed the menace of an outbreak from the Rajputs. In the front, the chained carts and the tripods were positioned, and behind schedule them and nearing extinction by them were the arquebusmen and artillerymen. Behind the arquebusmen a body of special troops was positioned, complete to prevent the attack or to haste advancing and control the enemy whenever the chains that related the guns were let down to license their route. Mustafa with his arquebusmen and culverins was dispatched in front of Humayun, who could return by his occurrence, while Ustad Ali Quli, who was jealous of him, was positioned with his heavy weapons in front of the centre. Babur himself was in the centre.

For the flanking parties (*tulughma*) on the right flank were posted Tardika, Malik Qasim, brother of Baba Qashqa, with a figure of Mughals. Designed for the adjoining drive on the left wing were positioned Mumin Ataka and Rustom Turkman with a build of superior groups.⁶⁶

The commanders had been taken their positions, but they were neither to leave their positions nor to begin the war without receiving the commands. Nizamuddin Sultan Muhammad Bakhshi, after building the appointments, comes from to the Padshah to accept his orders in order to transmit them to the commanders through the *tawachis* and *yasawals*.⁶⁷

The battle started on 17th March 1527, at that time Rajput left wing had gone against the Turkish right wing and assaulted Khusrau Kukuldash and Baba Qashqa's brother, Malik Qasim. Another hand, Chin Timur Sultan hurry to their help and resisted the assault.

Muhibbul Hasan expressed, "Babur the founder of the Mughal Empire" writes, "Mustafa, who was in the centre of the right wing, brought forward the carts with the arquebuses and the culverins and broke the ranks of the enemy. Qasim Husain Sultan, Ahmad Yusuf, Qawam Beg of the right wing as well as Muhammadi Kukuldash, Yunus Ali, Shah Mansur Barlas, Abdullah, Dost, and Muhammad Khalil, the *akhtabegi* (master gelder) of the centre were also sent to their assistance. Despite this, the Rajput right wing repeatedly attacked the Turkish left, though it failed to create an impression. At this

⁶⁶ibid., p. 564.

⁶⁷ibid., p. 568.

moment the flanking parties were ordered to attack the Rajput rear with the help of Khwaja Mahmud and Ali Ataka, servants of Khalifa. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan and other officers of the left wing fought bravely and stood firm.”⁶⁸

In the interim, as the battle delayed, Babur, imagining that the determined Rajput assaults may debilitate his little armed force, ordered the extraordinary imperial soldiers positioned behind the carts to go out on the right and left of the centre and assault the foe. Simultaneously, Ustad Ali Quli started to release stones from his guns and the arquebusmen likewise got dynamic. Exactly right now orders were given that the carts of the centre ought to be progressed. Babur himself pushed ahead. Immediately the entire Turkish armed force surged forward from the left and right. Even though the Rajputs reeled, they revitalized and conveyed a frantic assault on the Turkish left, however, they were steered with incredible misfortune.⁶⁹ They were sought after by Babur up to their camp and various them were slaughtered. He at that point depended on the errand to Abdul Aziz, however, he later lamented not having embraced the interest himself.⁷⁰ Rana Sanga was injured by an arrow and conveyed in an insensible state by the Rajas of Amber and Jodhpur to Baswa close to Amber. Mahmud Khan Lodi figured out how to get away, yet Hasan Khan Mewati was executed alongside various Rajput chiefs. The correct figures of the Turkish and Rajput misfortunes are not known, however, the Rajputs probably endured considerably more vigorously than the Turks. There was barely Rajput family that did not lose its sovereign. Babur, as per his typical practice, requested the erection of a mainstay of the skulls of the killed on the hillock positioned between his camp and the battlefield.⁷¹

Rajput historians ascribed Rana's thrashing to the unfairness of Silhadi of Raisin who, they call attention to, had abandoned, having been acquired by Babur and changed over to Islam.⁷² But this is an incorrect vision. In any case, Silhadi alone could not have realized the conquer of the Rajputs; and in the second, there is no dependable proof to propose that he had been prevailed upon by Babur and changed over to Islam. It was a lot later during the attack of Raisin by Bahadur Shah of Gujrat that Silhadi grasped

⁶⁸ Muhibbul Hasan, *Babur the founder of the Mughal Empire in India*, pp. 92-93.

⁶⁹ *Baburnama*, p. 558.

⁷⁰ *ibid*, pp. 575-76

⁷¹ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 265.

⁷² G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

Islam.⁷³ Besides, if Babur had prevailed upon him, he would not have thought of attaching his assets of Bhilsa, Sarangpur, and Raisin. The truth of the matter is, as Rushbrook Williams properly calls attention to, "The cry of treachery is a common solace to the pride of a beaten army."⁷⁴ Silhadi has been made a substitute to shield the picture of the Rana as an incredible legend from being discoloured. It is, for the most part, overlooked that the Rana, however a challenging officer, was was a bad general. He entrusted the severe fault of residual motionless for over three weeks and allowing the foe to make their war arrangements undisturbed. Babur, then again, was an incredible strategist and was not easy back to exploit the errors of the Rana. Additionally, he had guns and arquebuses, which the Rajputs did not. Also, he gave himself carts and wheeled tripods which filled the need for both offense and protection. Moreover, the expulsion of the Rana from the battlefield probably dampened his soldiers and weakened their confrontation. Be that as it may, the most unequivocal factor that prompted the defeat of the Rajputs was Babur's trained, mobile cavalry equipped with bow and his *tulughma* strategies.⁷⁵

The results of Babur's triumph were sweeping. Even though his triumph at Panipat had prompted the end of one adversary and to his profession of Delhi and Agra, he was not yet the master of Hindustan, for his capacity was tested by Rana Sangram Singh, the chief of the Rajput alliance and a more imposing rival than the Lodi king. Babur's prosperity at Khanwa not just solidly situated him on the honoured position of Ibrahim, yet besides set up his authority in Hindustan and "the menace of Rajput supremacy which had loomed was removed once and for all."⁷⁶ Another outcome of Babur's triumph was that from now on Hindustan turned into the focal point of his exercises.

Rana Sanga had previously achieved eighteen pitched battles against the sovereigns of Delhi and Malwa, when in 1526 he proceeded at the head of almost all the princes of Rajasthan to resist the Emperor Babur, who had occupied Delhi and Agra and was upon the frontier of Rajasthan. The armies met near Fatehpur Sikri; the triumph

⁷³ Sikandar Ibn Mohammad, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Persian text, ed. S.C. Misra and M.L. Rahman, Baroda, 1961, pp. 287-88.

⁷⁴ R. Williams, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 156.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 155-56.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 156.

eventually rested with Babur, and Sanga retreated with the ruin of his army; but survived his defeat only for a short period.⁷⁷

The Battle of Khanwa gave a fatal blow to the Rajput reputation. The kingdom of Mewar, which had reached the zenith of its power under Rana Kumbha and Rana Sanga, suffered a great loss of men and money. The impression created abroad by the war was highly unfavourable to the Rajputs.⁷⁸

2.4 Conquest of Chanderi

Having captured Mewar and reoccupied the strongholds which were in the hands of the radicals, Babur guided his focus toward the strong fort of Chanderi, whose ruler, Medini Rai, had battled on the side of Rana Sangram Singh against him.

Chanderi had a place with the Sultans of Malwa, however exploiting the internecine clashes in the realm, Sultan Sikandar Lodi had involved it.⁷⁹ In 1520 it was seized by Rana Sangram Singh, who presented it on his protégé and partner, Medini Rai, a previous executive of Mahmud II of Malwa.⁸⁰

Chanderi was of impressive vital significance. Arranged on a level on the borders of Bundelkhand and Malwa, encompassed by thick jungle and receptive by tight passes, it commanded the street between the lower Doab and Malwa. Under the Khaljis and the Tughluqs, it had been a military cantonment for sending expeditions to Telingana. Afterward, it was fortified by the Sultans of Malwa to repulse the assaults of the Sharqi leaders of Jaunpur. Being the focal point of fabric make and encompassed by a fertile plain, it was a prosperous town during medieval occasions.⁸¹

The stronghold of Chanderi was positioned on a hill. While the external fortification and the town lay in the incline of the slope.⁸² After choosing a good position for his guns and making the appropriate disposition of his soldiers, Babur opened negotiations with Medini Rai for a settlement. He sent Araish Khan, who was known to be well disposed of with him, joined by Shaikh Ghuran, guaranteeing the Rajput chief

⁷⁷ *Gazetteer of Meywar, Pratapgarh, Sirohi and Mount ABU*, Captain C.E. Yate and Major C.A. Baylay, SSDN publisher, New Delhi, 1879, p. 18.

⁷⁸ Ishwari Prasad, *The Mughal Empire*, Chugh Publications, Allahabad, 1974, p. 107

⁷⁹ *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, pp. 423-24.

⁸⁰ *Baburnama*, p. 593.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, pp. 596-97.

⁸² *ibid.*, pp. 596-97.

that he would be dealt with benevolent and offering Shamsabad in return for Chanderi, which he was required to give up. In any case, certain that he would be capable to hold out, Medini Rai dismissed the offer. Babur was left with no option but to utilize power against him.⁸³

The stronghold was safeguarded by five thousand men, yet the protections of the external fortress had been abandoned, and its army comprised of a few men. So the night of 20 January Babur's men effectively entered the stronghold and occupied it without meeting scarcely any confrontation. The following morning Babur ordered an attack on the stronghold. Even though the assault was coordinated on all sides, the primary assault was concentrated towards the side where the secured path ran down the tank, Kirat-Sagar, which alone provided water to the fortress. The garrison put up stiff confrontation by throwing down large stones and flinging flaming substances. All things considered, Babur's soldiers scaled the walls and grasped the covered way. The Rajputs battled with incredible bravery; however, they were vanquished and consented to give in. Nonetheless, while clearing the fortification, and, in the wake of playing out the Jauhar, they assaulted the Turks. Although they were shocked with the loss of three or four thousand men and the fortification was occupied. Over the slope, toward the north-east of Chanderi, Babur ordered the erection of a pinnacle of the skulls of the killed.⁸⁴ He gave Chanderi on Ahmad Shah, a grandson of Sultan Nasiruddin Shah of Malwa, fixed a tribute of fifty lakhs, and left behind the power of two to three thousand for his help. Mulla Apak was assigned *Shiqdar* of Chanderi.⁸⁵

Babur was a soft-hearted man. The delicate quality in character which made Babur a delightful character, a sterling component of Babur's character was his dependability to family and companions.⁸⁶ There is likewise an episode in *Baburnama* which explains his gentleness. It was when Rana Sanga was making arrangements for the fight to come against Babur, Ibrahim Lodi's mother attempted to poison Babur. Discovering that he was loving to certain Hindustani dishes, and had utilized a few cooks who had been in the administration of Ibrahim Lodi, she sent for Ahmad, the late Sultan's tester, from Etawa, and gave him a parcel containing the toxin through one of

⁸³ *ibid.*, pp. 593-94.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 595-96.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 598.

⁸⁶ S. M. Edwards, *Babur: Diarist and Despot*, p. 116

her female slaves. There was a subsequent female slave who pursued her to check whether the parcel had been given over to the correct individual. Ahmad, thusly, gave the toxic substance to Hindustani cooks, promising them four *Parganas* on the off chance that they would poison Babur. Luckily, Babur's very own testers were available at the hour of cooking, so they could not be tossed poison into the cooking pot. In any case, attributable to their oversight, when the nourishment was being handed out small amount of the poison was spreaded on thin slices of bread, which were then coated by meat fried in butter. When Babur ate it, he felt queasiness and he vomited. His doubts were stirred because two of his men who had helped themselves from a similar dish also vomited, and when this nourishment was given to a dog his stomach was swollen and he was ill. So the cook was griped, and when tormented, admitted reality. Babur ordered the taster to be sliced to pieces, and the cook to be excoriated alive. One of the female slaves was stomped on over by an elephant, while the other was shot. Ibrahim's mother was somewhat rebuffed because Babur regarded her as a mother, so she was just held under custody, not to put demise. By this story, Babur's character gives him incredible grace.⁸⁷

2.5 Battle of Ghagra

In 1528, Mahmud Lodi, brother of Ibrahim Lodi, who had battled against Babur at Khanwa as a partner of Rana Sangram Singh, landed in Bihar and, having held onto the Bihar town in February 1529, proclaimed himself Sultan.⁸⁸

Another factor that drove Babur to alter his perspective and himself set out toward the east was Nusrat Shah's treachery. Ibrahim Lodi's thrashing at Panipat and Humayun's consequent crusade in August 1526 prompting the success of Jaunpur and loot of Kharid,⁸⁹ had frightened Nusrat Shah for the security of his assets in Bihar, which he and his father had obtained.⁹⁰ In this way, while pronouncing dedication and kinship to Babur, he subtly received antagonistic measures against him. From one viewpoint, he attempted to humour him by sending an emissary to his court, and then again, he strengthened the Nuhani realm of Bihar, which he viewed as an resistance against the Turks. So when Mahmud Lodi showed up in Bihar after the passing of Sultan Muhammad, he strengthened him to keep up the alliance against Babur.

⁸⁷ *Baburnama*, pp. 541-3

⁸⁸ Niamtullah, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 284-85.

⁸⁹ *Baburnama*, p. 544.

⁹⁰ J. N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal Muslim Period 1200- 1757*, Vol. II, University of Decca, Decca, 1948, p. 153

These two factors: the coming of Mahmud Lodi in Bihar and the suspicious job of Nusrat Shah made Babur choose to the ruler. Askari, he considered, excessively youthful and unpracticed to manage the circumstance independent from anyone else. Even though as of now the Baluchis were in rebellion in Multan, Babur disregarded this and chose to manage the issues in the east.

Babur knew about the unfriendly aims of Mahmud Lodi at Dholpur, where he had gone to rest and to see the citadel, garden, mosque and tank he had ordered to be built during his visit in September last. On January 14, he came back to Agra from Dholpur, and on the morning of the twentieth, he left his capital and, marching by means of Jalesar, where he crossed the Jumna, Anwar, Abapur, Chandawar, Rapri, Etawah, Adampur, Fatehpur Haswa, he digs in at Dugdugi on 27 February.⁹¹

He advised Askari, who had arrived at the spot and looked out for him, to keep on the left bank of the Ganga, and to stop constantly inverse him, while he would walk along the right bank of the river.⁹² At Dugdugi, Babur discovered that Mahmud Lodi had gathered a multitude of 10,000 men, and was progressing on Chunar with Fath Khan Sarwani, father-in-law and *Wazir*. He was likewise informed that Mahmud had sent one armed force under Babban and Bayazid towards Gorakhpur, and another under Sher Shah Suri whom Babur had attempted to prevail upon by an award of some *pargana* a year ago, and who had now crossed the Ganga, and seized Varanasi from an officer of Jalaluddin Sharqi.⁹³

On 1st March, Babur left Dugdugi. On coming at Karrah on the fourth he was richly engaged by his tributary, Jalaluddin Sharqi. On the 5th, he moved from Karrah, and the following day he came to realize that on his methodology Mahmud Lodi, who had blockaded Chunar, had retired in uncertainty, and that the Afghans who had occupied Varanasi, had also taken out.⁹⁴ Babur must have known, however, he does not refer to it, that Nusrat Shah had sent his leader, Qutb Khan, over the north of Bihar to assault Lucknow, yet Qutb Khan's assault, as additionally the arrangement of the entire Afghan crusade, was fruitlessly inferable from the ineptitude of Mahmud Khan.⁹⁵

⁹¹ *Baburnama*, p. 644

⁹² *ibid.*, p. 651

⁹³ *ibid.*, pp. 651-52.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 652

⁹⁵ J. N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal Muslim Period 1200- 1757*, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 153-56.

On coming at the intersection of the Ganga and Jumna, Babur traversed to Prayag and, progressing along its banks utilizing Nuliba, Kintit, and Nanapur, came to Chunar on 23 March.⁹⁶ Discovering that Mahmud was encamped behind the son, Babur walked quickly to make an unexpected assault on him. At Ghazipur, he got letters from Jalal Khan and Sher Khan offering their loyalty. Soon after, Mahmud Khan Nuhani himself showed up and gave proper respect. On 1st April Babur came to Chausa and on the 4th Buxar. On the 9th Mahmud Lodi, whose military had been decreased by abandonment to just 2,000 men, fled on the methodology of a surveillance party under Muhammad Ali, the son of Haidar Rakabdar (Stirrup-holder), without offering any conflict. Though, few of his men was caught by the Turks.⁹⁷

On 15 April, Babur got a report that the Bengal armed force under Makhdum-I Alam, Nusrat's legislative head of Hajipur, was posted at twenty-four places on the river Gandak. The Next day news originated from Dudu and her son, Jalal Khan, that, however, the Bengalis had kept them from leaving, they had battled their way through and were coming to go along with him.⁹⁸ The motivation behind why Nusrat Shah was keeping the Nuhanis from leaving his region was that their defection would weaken the alliance, which he had shaped with such incredible exertion and dangers.

Babur made expound arrangements because the Bengalis had prepared an enormous armed force and were known to have fireworks.⁹⁹ Babur had an enormous power, which was fortified by 20,000 men brought as of now by Junaid Barlas from Jaunpur. He divided his military into six divisions. The bulk of the military, comprising of four divisions under Askari, being as of now on the left bank of the Ganga, was ordered to cross the Ghagra at the Haldighat fortification. The fifth division which was under Babur himself was to cover Ali Quli Khan's artillery planted on a rising ground at the intersection of the two rivers, and afterward to cross under the cover of his guns. The 6th division, under Muhammad Zaman Mirza, was to help Mustafa's artillery which was built up a little beneath the meeting of the two rivers and was ordered to cannonade the adversary's flank from the Bihar side of the Ganga, inverse an island where various vessels were tied up.

⁹⁶ *Baburnama*, pp. 654-657.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 659-662.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 663-664.

⁹⁹ *Baburnama*, p. 402.

Ali Quli was required to keep up discharging with his firearms and arquebuses on the Bengalis on the east bank of the Ghagra, while Mustafa was required to keep up a consistent fire with his guns and arquebuses on the adversary's flank and the vessels lying off an island inverse to him. At dawn on 1st May, the fifth and sixth divisions started to cross the Ganga from its right bank toward the left preliminary to the intersection of the Ghagra.¹⁰⁰

On 4th May Aughan-birdi Mughal was ordered to cross the river with 1,000 men. While he was on his walk, he assaulted an enormous collection of Bengali infantry who had arrived from twenty or thirty boats and put them to flight, taking a few detainees and injuring and murdering a few. That day the Bengalis arrived from various vessels close to Muhammad Zaman's side and assaulted him, however, he rebuffed them and sought after them, prompting the suffocating of three boat-loads of the adversary.¹⁰¹

In the interim, discovering that Askari had crossed the Ghagra on the 4th and was intending to assault the Bengalis the following morning, Babur gave guidelines to his officers to quickly cross with their men and rush to the assistance of Askari. On the 5th Asian Timur crossed the Ghagra in a boat with thirty or forty men with their horses swimming close by. On finding, his thirty or forty horsemen assaulted the Bengali foot soldiers and put them to flight.¹⁰²

By the fifth the entire armed force had got cross the Ghagra, some by swimming, some by vessels and some on groups of reeds. On landing, they continued to assault the adversary. Kumi, instructing an assemblage of troops from Askari's divisions, participated in the assault. The Bengalis set up firm opposition and showed incredible fearlessness, yet were at last crushed with overwhelming misfortune. Babur's officers like Asian Timur, Darwesh Muhammad Sarban, Dost Aishak Agha, Mughal Abdul Wahab and his more youthful brother separated themselves in the fight.¹⁰³

Thus it can be concluded that after losing his (Babur) Empire in Central Asia, he established the Mughal Empire in India to fight against the Afghans and the Rajputs. Babur was the first king to bring artillery to India. Babar fought the four battles in India and was victorious in every battle.

¹⁰⁰ Muhibbul Hasan, *Babur Founder of the Mughal Empire in India*, p. 108.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 108.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 108.

¹⁰³ *Baburnama*, p.667

CHAPTER-3
***EARLY REIGN OF HUMAYUN IN
HINDUSTAN***

Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University

Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun was born on March 6, 1508 A.D.,¹ it was the time when the sun entered the zodiacal sign, Aries,² which means, it assured for the Prince a joyful life with abundance and affluence. He was born in the citadel of the Kabul.

3.1 Early Life of Humayun

Humayun was a mixture of cultured parents and belong to the cultured family; his academic improvement was speedy. His tutors were such illustrious men of writing like Maulana Masi-al-Din Ruhulla and Maulana Iliyas. Babur did play an important role to the forming and motivating of a boy prince (Humayun), Babur was a linguist, a good poet with the command of both languages Turkish and Persian, an elegant prose writer and the deviser of a script.³ Humayun had been taken up by his father in the most excellent practices of the customs of the time and had grown up to be a grand intellectual.⁴

Babur always corrected and scrutinized Humayun's letters like the use of very informal language, obscure words and elaborations, bad hand-writing and also spelling mistakes,⁵ which possibly made Humayun bashful of often writing to his father. In later life, there was an impact of Babur's suggestions on him like beautiful handwriting and also initializing a flavour for drawing and painting.

At the time of youth, Humayun has increased enthusiasm for the study of abstruse sciences such as astronomy, philosophy and mathematics. He was also interested in music and poetry. He was also a good poet and his Persian verses be positioned intermingled in various works like *Akbarnama*, *Tarikh-i-Gujrat*, *M'asir-i-Rahimi*, and others, and also a Diwan including a figure of Persian 'Ghazals' and 'Rubais' which are credited to him.

Humayun had known three languages. Turki was his inherited language but he looks to have spoken it very scarcely.⁶ He was mesmerized by Persian which he used in day to day talk.

Humayun was also taken training in the fine art of realistic administration. Humayun was Babur's beloved child. Gulbadan Begum, in *Humayunnama* quoted

¹4thZil-qada, 913 A.H

²*Baburnama*, p. 344, *Humayunnama*, p. 9.

³*Baburnama*, pp. 228, 402

⁴Sh. Abdul Aziz, *The Imperial Library of the Mughals*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 2009, p. 27.

⁵*Baburnama*, pp. 624-26

⁶*Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 278.

Babur's words, "Maham! Although I have other sons, I love none as I love Humayun."⁷ In the *Baburnama*, Babur wrote about his interest for his son Humayun's studies, for example, In January 1526 A.D., before the battle of Panipat, he seized Milwat, he gifted some books of Ghazi Khan Lodi's library to Humayun.

Babur in his Memoirs inscribed about the birth of his son and inheritor on Tuesday, March 6, 1508:—"At the end of this same year A.H. 913 in the night of Tuesday the 4th day of the month of Zul Qada,⁸ the sun is in Pisces Humayun was born in the citadel of Kabul. The date of his birth was found by the poet Maulana Masnadi in the words Sultan Humayun Khan, and a minor poet of Kabul found it in *Shah-i-Firuz Qadr* (Shah of victorious might). A few days later he received the name Humayun. When he was only five or six days old, I went out to the *CharBagh* to celebrate his coming into the world with a great feast. All the Beks, small and great brought their presents on this occasion. Such heaps of silver *tankas* were piled up as had never been seen before in any other place. It was a splendid feast."⁹

Humayun joined to Babur on December 3rd at the Garden of Fidelity (*Bagh-i-Wafa*). Babur had to stay for the boy, and was greatly annoyed, and chastised him rigorously. At that time Humayun was only seventeen years old, and since 1520 had been appointed governor of Badakhshan. He emphasized his father by brought over his army.¹⁰

Humayun never became politically supreme. Humayun carved out some strange notions of royalty and divinity so that he could be in a position to raise himself above his nobles.¹¹

Gulbadan Begum wrote, "On February 26th Humayun created news which would be as welcome to Maham as it was to Babur, for he was successful in his first expedition on active service. This occurred at Hisar Firoza, and the town and district were given to him with a sum of money. News of the victory was despatched to Kabul from Shahabad; and immediately after Babur's record of this in the Memoirs, there occurs a passage of varied interest, although it seems to European ears a somewhat strange commemoration

⁷ *Humayunnama*, p. 17

⁸ The 4th of Zil Qada will be March 6, 1508.

⁹ *Baburnama*, p. 344.

¹⁰ *Humayunnama*, pp. 4-5.

¹¹ K.A. Nizami, *The Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire: Genesis and Salient Features*, op. cit. P. 4

of detail of toilette: 'At this same station and this same day the razor or scissors were first applied to Humayun's beard.' Babur made an entry in June 1504, of the same act accomplished for him. It was one which Turks celebrated by festivity. The entry quoted above is made as though by Babur, but it is followed by an explanation that it is inserted by Humayun in pious imitation of his father's own. Humayun did this in 1553-54, shortly before he set out to recover his father's lost domains in Hindustan. The date is fixed by his statement that he made the interpolation when he was forty-six.¹²

Babur was felt very proud of the achievement of Humayun. He stated, "It was Humayun's first exploit and his first expedition. The whole affair was a most excellent omen of future success."¹³ It was also Babur's victory; he was a triumph for his son, conferred upon him silver tankas, also the *jagir* of Hisar Firoza.

The little victory of Humayun would be overshadowed by the next news of the royal army; it was April 12th, 1526, conveyed the battle of Panipat and the subverted of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, *the Lodi Afghan*, and the Emperor of Hindustan. In the battle of Panipat, Humayun instructed the inner right side with most of the same supporters that had escorted him in the final battle. His side was the first to be assaulted by Ibrahim's army and on being emphasized by the right side under Abdul Aziz he presented a reasonable account of himself.¹⁴ Also in the battle of Khanwa Humayun maintained his order on the internal right side and after the success was recompensed with the pleased of the Alwar treasury.¹⁵

On November 17, 1525, it was the day when Humayun should have looked at the top of the Badakhshani deputation. For more than two weeks Babur was excited to wait on his son's happiness. Babur was understandably infuriated. He wrote in his *Baburnama* that "Seeing that Humayun was delaying unduly in presenting himself at the meeting place, I wrote several letters to him, putting pressure upon him...When at length Humayun joined me, I did not fail to chide him sharply upon the lack of promptitude which he had displayed in coming."¹⁶

¹² *Humayunnama*, p. 06.

¹³ *Baburnama*, p. 466.

¹⁴ *Baburnama*, p. 472.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 579.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 447.

Humayun halted in Badakhshan for a further two years¹⁷ (1527-29 A.D.). He endeavoured to introduce directly the government and arranged a mission against Samarqand. But his halt there was too little to carry about any considerable victory.

After the victory of Khanwa, Babur had the chance to be there for the troubles of the north-western province. On April 14, 1527 A.D. he commanded Humayun to go reverse to Badakhshan and restart charge of its government.¹⁸ This assignment was nothing new for the Prince because he had already been appointed in Badakhshan as governor for five years after that Humayun stayed in India for one and a half years with his father. It shows the time when the Prince was absent and incessant to persist the governor of the territory because Mirza Haider informs us that Humayun stayed the governor of that country for nine years (926-35H).¹⁹ This is more sustained by the evidence that Babur does not consign to any everlasting descendant of Humayun during this concise intervening, and in the battle of Khanwa the army directed by Humayun comprised primarily of the armed forces of Badakhshan.²⁰

S. K. Banerji inscribed about the transfer of illness from Humayun to Babur, “The actual ceremony by which the malady was transferred has been described by the king’s daughter. He walked around the prince’s bed while prayers were offered to Hazrat Ali in words like ‘O God! If life may be exchanged for life, I who am Babur, give my life and my being for Humayun. From the next day, he began to fast to make the sacrifice effective; and it is said that, shortly after, he felt that his prayers had been accepted. Babur fell ill and his malady grew worse and worse, while Humayun showed signs of gradual recovery. At last he fully recovered and met the king who had been lying ill in his bed.’²¹

It was the time when Babur felt his demise depict close to him. He called Khalifa Qambar Ali Beg, Tardi Beg, Hindu Beg, and other Amirs collectively, and addressed his final expression to them:

“For years it has been in my heart to surrender my throne to Humayun, and retire to the gold-Scattering Garden. By the Divine Grace, I have obtained in the health of body all things but the fulfillment of this wish. Now, when I am laid low by illness, I charge

¹⁷ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 267.

¹⁸ *Baburnama*, p. 579.

¹⁹ *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 387.

²⁰ *Baburnama*, p. 580.

²¹ S. K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford 1938, p. 13.

you all (*Wasiyat mikunam*) to acknowledge Humayun as my successor, and to remain loyal to him. Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Humayun will also bear himself well towards men.”²² After the spoken of these words, Babur turned to Humayun and conveyed to him a message specified for his ear. “Humayun, I commit you and your brothers and my kins and your people to God are keeping, and all of them are confined to you. . . The cream of my testamentary directions is this: Do naught against your brothers, even though they may deserve it.”²³

S. K. Banerji has given the information about Humayun ascended the throne. He rightly pointed out that “Babur died on December 26, 1530, A.D. He had already nominated Humayun as his successor; put him on the throne in the presence of all his nobles, himself watching the proceedings from his sick-bed. What is more significant is that ten months before, when the prince had gone to subdue Kalinjar, he had inscribed his name as Muhammad Humayun, Padshah-i-Ghazi and dated it Rajab 936 A.H. Thus there could be no doubt that Babur meant him to be his successor and all people looked upon him as such. It is recorded that Humayun ascended the throne on December 30, 1530 A.D., so that between the death of the last king and the accession of the new one, there were four days.”²⁴

Unfortunately for Humayun, firstly the Khalifa was against to position the prince on the throne. The Khalifa rejected not only Humayun but all other sons who had the right for the throne.²⁵ Kamran was the next son after Humayun, he was the elder of 6 years, Askari was younger than 8 years and Hindal was younger of 10 years. The Khalifa said that how could it have been probable a young boy placed on the throne when he was under his guardianship.

Mrs. Beveridge was incredible, she mentioned another name who also offering himself for the throne, it was Mahdi Khwaja.²⁶ He did not belong to any governing period, nor was he individually notorious.

When Humayun ascended the throne he was at the age of 23. Like so many of the medieval rulers, he signalized his accession by a generous gesture towards his subjects by retaining the officers of the preceding reign in their respective posts and rewarding his

²² *Humayunama*, pp. 108-09.

²³ *Humayunnama*, pp. 108-09.

²⁴ S. K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, op. cit., p. 17.

²⁵ *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, p. 193.

²⁶ Mahdi Khwaja was the son of Khwaja Musa and third husband of Babur's full sister Khanzada Begum.

ardent supporters by an increment of salary and conferment of titles. To maintain a strong government, Babur had been appointed his sons accordingly, Humayun as the governor of Badakhshan, Kamran of Kabul, Ghazni and Qandahar, and Askari of Multan.²⁷

There were some people, who were jealous of Humayun's good fortune and would not lose any chance of creating trouble for him. Humayun's worst enemies were his brother-in-law, Muhammad Zaman Mirza, and also cousin, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, and his large progeny. They were a set of high-born, but restless princes, who, proud of their lineage, were ever bent on the adventure and caused unrest everywhere.²⁸

From the commencement of his rule, Humayun was in anxiety. Muhammad Zaman Mirza, his brother-in-law and husband of his elder half-sister, Masuma Sultan Begum, rebelled.²⁹ The uprising quickly lessened, because Humayun's munificence and Babur's choice of him as successor had disposed of the noble in his favour. The Mirza submitted and was pardoned.

Humayun felt about the weighing of Khalifa and the uprising of Muhammad Zaman Mirza showed dissatisfaction in some quarters and that it was necessary for him to prove his worth to his followers by achieving some striking success. Hopefully, he had completed it by an easy mode. It was the last time of Babur's rule; he had been conducting a campaign against the Raja of Kalinjar. Serious illness of Babur, which resulted in his death, had recalled Humayun to Agra and thus Kalinjar had been driven out for sometimes. But, when he had some time for relaxation, he thought of renewing the campaign.³⁰

S. K. Banerji inscribed about the Kalinjar place, "It is a holy place for the Hindus and is supposed to have existed in the *Satya-yuga* under the name of Ratna-Kuta, in the *Treta*, of Mahayiri, and in the *Dvapara*, of Pingalu. The present name, Kalinjara, occurs in the *Mahabharata*, in Ptolemy's geographical work, and also in the *Shiva-Purana*. The word is supposed to be one of Shiva's names, Kalinjara, 'he who causes time to grow old.' There are Shiva *lingas*, Jaina statues, caves, and inscriptions³¹ all over the place.³²

²⁷ S. K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, p. 29.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁹ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 289.

³⁰ S. K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, p. 34.

³¹ One of the inscription read as: محمد همايون بادشاہ غازی پسر خراجہ ۹۳۶ھ

³² S. K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, p. 35.

It was in the year 1531 A.D. when Humayun made an effort to take the possession for the fort of Kalinjar. The siege lasted for some time when the raja purchased peace by an offer of twelve-man or 6,720 *tolas* of gold.³³ The Raja was then made a grandee of the Mughal Empire.³⁴

Khwandmir also expressed that “When at the beginning of Juma I of the year 937 A.H., the Emperor, who was as magnificent as Solomon, and whose justice was as weighty as the two worlds, found abode in the heavens, that is Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Badshah Ghazi left the throne of conquest for the eternal heavens; the heavenly herald of the Supreme Lord of Kingdoms sounded the glorious message: we made you the vicegerent on earth in the wise ears of this deserving Badshah, and the tips of the Creator of persons and universe.”³⁵

Humayun returned to India in 1529. Babur thus enthusiastically described the advent of his son: ‘I was just talking with his mother about him when he came. His presence opened our hearts like rosebuds and made our eyes shine like torches. It was my rule to keep an open table every day, but on this occasion, I gave feasts in his honour and showed him every kind of distinction. We lived together for some time in the greatest intimacy. The truth is that his conversation had an inexpressible charm, and he realized the ideal of perfect manhood.’³⁶

Edwards and Carrett remarked that, “Humayun, ascending the throne of Delhi, found himself in difficulties from the outset. His brother Kamran was already Governor of Kabul, and Humayun was obliged also to transfer Punjab to him. This seriously weakened his resources at a time when men and money were badly needed. Kamran proved thoroughly disloyal throughout his brother’s reign until he met with a well-deserved fate. With him begins that fraternal hatred which became so marked a feature of the later generations of the Mughal dynasty.”³⁷

There were also numerous Afghan officers still held powerful fiefs, and these men had not forgotten that the kings of Delhi and been Afghans but a few years before. When a member of the deposed dynasty (Sultan Mahmud Lodi) appeared amongst them in

³³ Measure of weight was given by Babur in *Baburnama*, pp. 517-18.

³⁴ Nizamuddin Ahmad expressed in his *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, p. 194.

داخلدولتخواهانشد

³⁵ Khwandmir, *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, Tr. Bains Prasad, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1940, p. 17.

³⁶ Stanley Lane-poole, *Babur*, p. 198.

³⁷ Edwards and Carrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, S. Chand, Delhi, 1962, pp. 12-13.

Bihar, there were all the materials for a formidable insurrection. Thus, even in his inherited dominions, about an eight-part of all India-Humayun was not secure from rivals and revolts.³⁸

Rama Shankar Avasthy described, "Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun ascended at Agra and assumed the full insignia of royalty as Badshah Ghazi."³⁹ The same day his Khutba was read in the Jami-Masjid (Agra), and coins were struck at Agra, Jaunpur, Delhi, and probably Qandahar, to mark the inauguration of the new rule."⁴⁰

Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was defeated and killed in the battle of Panipat, the Afghans were in severe condition, the counting of Afghans were receded between fifteen to fifty thousand, according to various estimates.⁴¹ Sultan Mahmood Lodi, was the brother of Ibrahim Lodi tried to retrieve the dominion of the Afghans by commingling with Rana Sanga, with ten thousand followers but there was no effect. But the Afghans were in the hope of another expedition against the Mughals. Rana Sanga died on 30th January 1528 A.D. (Samvat 1584), his responses were shattered and he sought to seek to refuse somewhere else.

In 1528 A.D., after the death of Rana Sanga, sultan Mahmud Lodi left Chitor, came to Bihar and began a challenging movement with the Delhi kingdom i.e. February 1529 A.D. His army divided into three: the first was under Baban and Bayazid to forward in the north against Gorakhpur; the second under Sher Khan to seize Banaras from Jalaluddin Sharqi, a protégé of Babur, and go to the Jaunpur, Sultan Junaid Barlas halted there, the governor; and the third under Mahmud himself, he aimed to capture the notable fort of Chunargarh. Junaid, the Mughal governor, move to the westward, and the whole territory up to Lucknow was taken by the Afghans. But, in March 1529 A.D., Babur came forthwith and the foe raised the capture of Chunar and fled pell-mell.⁴² Mahmud was retired eastward.⁴³

The battle of Dadrah took place in August 1532 A.D. The Mughals became victorious and two chief generals of the Afghans were lost named Bayazid Qarmali and Ibrahim Khan Yusuf-Khail.

³⁸ Stanley, Lanepoole *Medieval India*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1987 pp. 219-20.

³⁹ *Humayunnama*, p. 25.

⁴⁰ Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, University of Allahabad, Allahabad, 1975, p. 61

⁴¹ *Baburnama*, p. 474.

⁴² *ibid*, pp. 653-54.

⁴³ Kalika Ranjan Qanungo, *Sher Shah and His Times*, Oriental Longmans, Bombay, 1965, pp. 81-82.

S.K. Banerji wrote, "Humayun, after the victory of Dadrah in August 1532 A.D., came forward to claim Chunar for himself. He sent Hindu Beg with a contingent; for he did not expect any opposition from Sher Khan. But the latter would not willingly yield and so he moved forward and laid a siege to the place. Sher Khan placed his second son Jalal Khan in charge of the defense and himself withdraws to Bahadur Kunda, in the interior of Bihar."⁴⁴

In 1522 A.D., when Kamran was 8 years old, Babur peculiarly composed a verse on Muslim Law entitled *Dar Fiqha-i-Mubaiyan* for his direction.⁴⁵ In January 1526 A.D., it was the sieze of Milwat,⁴⁶ he scrutinized the fort, and firstly Babur visited the library of Ghazi Khan and to select some books for Humayun and Kamran. In January 1529 A.D. he again sent his Indian verses to his sons Humayun and Kamran and the alphabet of the Baburi script to Hindal, he was the son of 10 or 11.⁴⁷

Abul Fazl stated, "His Majesty *Jehanbani* (i.e. Humayun) partly because the sea of his liberality had been set in motion and partly from a desire to observe the precepts of his Majesty *Geti-Sitani* (Babur) made over the province to him."⁴⁸

Humayun made an advance present of Hisar Firuza, a territory that had been assigned to himself as an honour for his first success on the Afghans under Hamid Khan in February 1525 A.D.⁴⁹

In January 1533 A.D. Humayun returned to Agra. One of the reasons for Humayun's early return to Agra was that Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujrat had unfriendly intentions against Delhi. Bahadur had acquired Mandu in March 1531 A.D., uprooted Silhadi of Raisen,⁵⁰ a prominent nobleman of Malwa in April 1532 A.D.

S. K. Banerji inscribed, "The foundations of the new city were laid in *Muharram* 940 A.H. (July 1533 A.D.). It was named Din-Panah, 'the Asylum of the Faith' and was completed in nine months, i.e., by *Shawwal* 940 A.H. (April 1534 A.D.). The chronogram, *Shahr-i-padshah-i-Din-Panah* gives 940 A.H. as the year of its completion."⁵¹

⁴⁴ S. K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, p. 49.

⁴⁵ *Baburnama*, p. 438.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 461.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 642.

⁴⁸ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 259.

⁴⁹ *Baburnama*, p. 466.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 598.

⁵¹ S. K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, p. 62.

S. K. Banerji also given the details of two feasts celebrations, he wrote, "After the completion of Din-Panah, Humayun returned to Agra in July 1534 A.D. At the request of the ladies of the palace, especially of his aunt, Khanzada Begum, two more feasts were arranged. At first, there was, on the ground floor in the middle of a large octagonal hall, a tank with a platform where young men, pretty girls, musicians, and sweet-voiced reciters, were seated. The king and his sister, Khanzada, were assigned the jewelled throne presented by Maham Begum, who, if she had been alive, would herself have taken Khanzada's place. The palace, of more than one storey, was throughout highly decorated. On the first floor, there were three rooms termed the houses of (1) Dominion, (2) Good Fortune, (3) Pleasure. The second feast was of greater importance; for it united Mahdi *Khwaja's* family with Humayun's own. The actual marriage of Hindal with Mahdi's sister, Sultanat Begam had already been celebrated in the lifetime of Maham Begam but the festivities had to be postponed owing to her illness."⁵²

S. K. Banerji expressed, "But there was another reason why Humayun could not proceed immediately against Sher Khan. Bahadur Shah after exchanging cordial messages with Humayun had turned hostile and between Sher Khan and Bahadur Shah there had developed the political understanding that when Humayun would attack the one, the other would be more active. It will be remembered that it was Bahadur Shah's activities in the north that had forced Humayun to the treaty of Chunar with Sher Khan and now when Sher Khan won victories, the same fear of Bahadur prevented him from moving against the Afghans of Bihar."⁵³

Humayun's one problem was from the scheme of Bahadur Shah of Gujrat was to go a great source of difficulty to Humayun. Gujrat turned to independent under *Maji-ul-Mulk* who got the royal title of Muzaffar, after the break-up of the Tughlaq Empire it was towards the end of the fourteenth century.

Bahadur was tempted by the Shaikhs of Islam, peculiarly of Saiyyad Shah Shaikhji, the head of the Bokhari Saiyyads of Gujrat. Bahadur was assigned by jagir, the villages of Kenj, Koha and Nabtah in the vicinity of Batoh. But he was not satisfied by his father's handling, he left his jagir and going via Dungarpur, Ajmer and Mewat reached Delhi where Ibrahim Lodi welcomed him. Ibrahim was devising for the battle with the Mughal Conqueror. Babur gives the information in his *Baburnama* that Bahadur

⁵²ibid., pp. 65-66.

⁵³ibid., p. 72.

has not participated in the battle of Panipat. Babur writes, “He had sent dutiful letters to me while I was near Panipat; I had replied by royal letters of favour and kindness summoning him to me. He had thought of coming, but changing his mind, drew off from Ibrahim’s army towards Gujrat.”⁵⁴

Ishwari Prasad inscribed, “Humayun had indeed good reasons for feeling pleased with the results of the first year of his reign. He had won a point against Bahadur Shah; he had given the Afghans a sharp lesson. Not yet had he realized to the full the dangers of his position. Had he done so, he would have strained every nerve to turn these small successes into lasting achievements. Either the Kalinjar or the Daurah enterprise might well have proved the starting point for a quick blow which would have paralyzed once and for all the strength of Bahadur or the Afghans.”⁵⁵

The storming of Gaur and the gaining of Rohtas, two events taking place in immediate succession, more than offset the current failure of Chunar. They gave the Afghans an urgently needed relief in their extremely hard-pressed condition, and revived their trust in themselves.⁵⁶

“Humayun arranged his court circle into the threefold division, based upon the names of the three peasants he had encountered upon that occasion. The royal brothers and relations, the nobles, ministers and military men were termed *Ahl-i-Daulat* or “men of prosperity”: men of letters, religious leaders and law officers, were called *Ahl-i-Sa’adat*, or “men of success”: while poets, singers, musicians, architects, painters and men of beauty and elegance, were classed as *Ahl-i-Murad* or “officers of desire.” Each of these classes was assigned to a leader who was to supervise the work of his charge. Khwandmir wrote in the *Qanun-i-Humayuni* that the king had three arrows made of gold and each of these pertained to the three classes Daulat, Sa’adat and Murad. The three divisions were distinguished by special order, the order of the Arrow.”⁵⁷

Ishwari Prasad also given a detailed account of the threefold division of the court circle: “The Emperor, as the head of each division, and chief of the order of the arrow held an arrow of pure gold of the twelfth and highest fineness. The gradations ranged

⁵⁴ *Baburnama*, p. 534.

⁵⁵ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, The Modern Press, Calcutta, 1955 p. 51.

⁵⁶ Basheer Ahmad Khan Matta, *Sher Shah Suri, A Fresh Perspective*, Oxford University Karachi, 2005, p. 112.

⁵⁷ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 645, cited in: Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, op. cit., p. 52.

down from the eleventh arrow, which was held by the Emperor's relations and the great officials, to the first, which was held by the palace guards. Further, each gradation had three qualities, high, middle and low.

Khwandmir given a detailed account of these arrows. Each arrow was associated with a particular class of men.

- The twelfth - Humayun himself.
- The Eleventh – Brothers and relations of the emperor.
- The tenth – Shaikhs, Ulama and learned men.
- The Ninth – Amirs of the State.
- The Eighth – *Muquarrawan*, i.e., men who lived near the king and held *mansabs*.
- The Seventh – Other mansab – holders.
- The Sixth – Chiefs of tribes and Uzbegs of good character.
- The fifth – Young men (*bekah Jawanan*).
- The fourth – *Tahvildars* (treasurers).
- The Third – Young men of the *jirgahs*.
- The Second – *Munshis* or Writers.
- The First – Gate-keepers, Camel-keepers, etc.

The other arrangements of the Court were taken to this fantastic scheme. The Government departments were divided under a classification corresponding to the four elements. Under "Fire" came the military departments; wardrobe, kitchen and stable were reckoned as "Air"; the Cellar, as well as canals and irrigation came under the heading of "water"; while buildings, agriculture, and land grants were termed "Earth."⁵⁸

Humayun was special about court courtesy and he presented it the *Kornish* and *taslim* which Abul Fazl explained, "The salutation called *taslim* consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head, which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering."⁵⁹

"Her account brings into clear relief the human side of Humayun's character, his love of magnificence and his tender solicitude for the welfare of the elder ladies of the

⁵⁸ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 53.

⁵⁹ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng. Tr. H. Blochmann, Aadiesh Book Depot, reprint, Delhi, 1965, p. 158.

royal family. When the younger ladies protested against his neglect of them he replied, “You all know that I have been to the quarters of the elder relations of you all. It is a necessity laid on me to make them happy. Nevertheless, I am ashamed before them because I see them so rarely.”⁶⁰

In 1534, Humayun had been devised to direct a punitive expedition with that somewhat chaotic domain. It was very lucky to him that his gain was tiresome when he had got as far as Kannauj, he gets the news which made him come back to Agra post-hurriedness. Bahadur supplied the money to Tatar Khan for an aim that he comprised an army of 40,000 men because of these desiring to storm Agra.

“The Sultan of Gujrat, with an accurate knowledge of Humayun’s character and prejudices, accepted Sadr Khan’s advice that it would be better to push on the siege, for the emperor would never attack an army engaged in war with the infidel; or, even if he did, it would be easy to abandon the Rajputs and attack the Mughals.”⁶¹

It was April 25, Humayun’s contrived attack, heavy artillery, the pride of his heart, to be destroyed by the order of Bahadur Shah. He went to the Agra road with some followers, to misguide chaser and return to the nearest point on the road to Mandu, where he was with his 20,000 strong bodyguards, waiting for him, controlled by the trusty Sadr Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk Khasakhail.⁶²

The viceroy wanted to show few gifts to the Sultan Bahadur Shah, for this, he requested to halt. At this time the Portuguese upsurged from every side and a battle resulted. A Portuguese killed the Sultan a sword when the Sultan comes to close his boat. The boats of the Portuguese closed to him and in the battle that resulted the Sultan and Rumi Khan dropped themselves in the sea and were submerged.⁶³

Ishwari Prasad inscribed, “Thus perished Bahadur, king of Gujrat, who is described by historians as a brave, warlike and generous ruler of high ambitions and winsome manners. His character presented an admixture of opposing qualities. Kind-hearted and generous, he was ferocious in dealing with his enemies and slew them

⁶⁰ *Humayunnama*, p. 48, cited in: Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 58.

⁶¹ Abu Turab Wali, *History of Gujrat*, Bibliotheca Indica Series p. 13, cited in: Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, pp. 70-71.

⁶² Abu Turab Wali, *History of Gujrat*, op. cit., p. 15.

⁶³ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 323.

without ruth. He was fond of displaying the trappings of royalty and like many an eastern monarch loved magnificence and power.”⁶⁴

The period of Afghan supremacy in India was politically and as well as culturally important.⁶⁵

3.2 Commencement of Sher Shah's Early Career

A noteworthy character Farid Khan was the founder of the Sur Empire in North India. He was born in 1486 in Sasaram. He killed a tiger with bravery; by this bravery he got the title of 'Sher Khan' from Bahar Khan. Sher Shah was the first monarch of the new Afghan Empire made up of his own efforts. Abbas Sarwani started to write and completed his work *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* during the reign of Akbar.

“Unfortunately for Farid, his home life was not happy; he was indeed his father's eldest son; but he and his next brother Nizam were born of an Afghan mother who no longer commanded the affections of her husband. Hasan Khan was extremely fond of his slave girls, by whom he had six sons, and was particularly attached to one of them, the mother of the two boys named Sulaiman and Ahmad. This woman was jealous of Farid's precedence over her own sons and always did her best to poison Hasan Khan's mind against him. The young man was of a stern and self-reliant temper so that high words often passed between father and son. When Hasan Khan's new prosperity came upon him, Farid naturally expected to receive a *jagir* of some value. But so coldly did his father treat him that Farid left his home and went to Jamal Khan in Jaunpur. Hasan Khan, apparently regretting what had happened wrote to his overlord, asking him to appease Farid, if possible, and send him back, but he remained implacable, to see the boy instructed in religious and polite learning. Farid declined to return but set himself to study with ardour at Jaunpur, then a centre of culture and learning. He devoted much attention to Arabic, the sacred tongue of his faith and also to histories of past kings of Hindustan.”⁶⁶

Unluckily, he did not reach his home soon, and Hasan Khan, father of Sher Shah, was under the influence of his favourite wife, and Sher Shah's situation was menaced.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 89.

⁶⁵ Hameeduddin, *Historians of Afghan rule in India*, Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol.82 No.1, 1962, p. 45

⁶⁶ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, pp. 97-98.

⁶⁷ Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, op. cit., p. 31.

It may be indicated out here that the period from 1530 to 1534 in Sher Khan's career was that of a fight, involving the problem of Life and death.⁶⁸

Sher Shah went out happily and, as with related relations, his father's tenants and soldiers had recognized the dignity of his father as his successor. Sulaiman, although, could not accept his weakness due to deprivation of his brother's big junket proposal, and ran away to the powerful prince, who ruled the *pargana* of Chaundh.⁶⁹

After the obstinate battle, Bengali soldiers were completely defeated, and the excessive looting fell into the hands of Sher Khan. This loot he kept for his people, did not distribute among the Lohanis, the tribe of Sultan Muhammad and Jalal Khan. The result was that he advanced status as an Afghan champion, but the secret opposition of Lohanis made the situation very tough. And when Nusrat Shah, to support the Bihar campaign, he was angry on the failure of Makhdum Alam, an army sent against him, at the time of the assassination of his friend, Sher Shah had to stand uprightly in the hands of the Lohanis. However, with the help of the governor of Hajipur, he protested against sending a small army to Mian Hansu Khan,⁷⁰ as a result, the very lucky person said to tell Sher Khan about all his property, "If I am victorious, I will claim my property, if not, better you should have it than any other."⁷¹

Mughals suffered greatly from the death of Babur, who weakened his mind and body in the last eighteen months of his life, there is a name praiseworthy of many legions. In his place, Humayun was going offensive and easy, a rough addiction for roughly obstruction and opium by three useless brothers. Probably due to Babur's disappearance, Sher Shah wanted to propose his provision to his people. Because he undoes the skepticism that naturally emerged among more active members of Sultan Mahmud's party, like Biban and Bayazid, and himself, came sooner than one. They were accused of associating with the Mughals, and when, in 1531, there were two redoubtable leaders under which the Afghan army moved on Jaunpur, they first landed on Sher Shah and disinclined them because he had to join them.⁷²

⁶⁸ Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Sher Shah Sur and His Dynasty*, Publication scheme, Jaipur, 1995, p. 59.

⁶⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 157.

⁷⁰ *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, p. 64.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 64.

⁷² *ibid.*, p. 94.

The power of Sher Khan regularly increased, his policy of taking the side of Afghan blood, his caution for life on the battlefield, his grand liberality was combined to attract them all to the best and most powerful members of his race across India.⁷³

As a result, Sher Shah was seriously wanted for the safety and support of the few people of power and authority. At that time he could see only two such men. One was the Sultan Muhammad Nuhani, the free king of Bihar, and the second was the Mughal Emperor, Babur, who had, expanded his Empire up to Jaunpur, there, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani was an Afghan, had been appointed by Babur as his governor.⁷⁴ Sher Shah had these two choices and he chose the Nuhani chief.⁷⁵

When Sher Shah joined Sultan Muhammad Nuhani, he must know about Muhammad Khan Sur, he was one of the chief nobles of the Nuhani Sultan. Farid did not expect to get as much as possible to join the Mughals. At that time, Babur did not make any effort to help or conciliate the Afghans and will be happy to support Afghan beside an Afghan.⁷⁶

Farid presented many other services that Sultan Mahmud interested in the young person. Farid honoured with the title of Sher Khan by Sultan Mahmud and he appointed him as a tutor for his son Jalal Khan. Sher Shah took his master's smallest leave.⁷⁷ He came back to his 'Jagir' and, afterward, joined the Mughals. Thus, with the Sultan Muhammad Nuhani, the first period of the apprenticeship of Farid lasted ten months from June 1526 A.D.⁷⁸ to March 1527 A.D.⁷⁹

"Sher Khan's indifference we must probe into the political situation of the country then (in March 1527) existing' We find that by then the Mughals had gained quite a strong and a stable footing on the Indian soil scoring victory after victory over the Afghans. Even Sultan Muhammad Nuhani had been twice defeated and the Afghan stalwarts like 'Alam Khan Jighat (of Kalpi) and Fateh Khan Sarvani realized the futility of further resistance and submitted to the Mughals."⁸⁰

⁷³ *ibid.*, p.102.

⁷⁴ *Baburnama*, p. 527.

⁷⁵ *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, p. 49.

⁷⁶ *Baburnama*, p. 521.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 589.

⁷⁸ Shaban 932 H.

⁷⁹ Jamadi-al-Akhir, 933H.

⁸⁰ *Baburnama*, p. 544, cited in: Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, op. cit., p. 238.

Sher Khan aroused the mistrust of the Mughal Emperor. Sher Khan looked critically upon the military and administrative procedures of the Mughals.⁸¹ It is not impossible that a report of his testimony has reached the ears of Mughal Emperor and asked his Prime minister to custody the faithless Sur *Jagirdar*.

Rama Shankar Avasthy remarked, "Being in Nuhani service, Sher Khan might have acted accordingly and might have crossed the Ganges to oppose the Mughals. But the Nuhani chief's cooperation with the Lodi Sultan cannot be finally accepted because after Sultan Muhammad's death we find his son, Jalal Khan, a minor trying to maintain his independence against the Lodis."⁸²

Nuhanis imposed themselves against the combined forces of Sultan Mahmud Lodi and Sultan Nusrat Shah. At this crisis Dadu was suggested by Sher Shah⁸³ to come into counter alliance with the Mughals.⁸⁴

"Sher Khan, thus, rose in importance and status, but, shortly after, he discovered that the majority of the Nuhani nobles wanted, somehow, to get rid of him and thereby to monopolize all power and authority to themselves. This led to intrigues and counter-intrigues till at last Jalal Khan and the Nuhani 'en bloc' fled to Nusrat Shah, the king of Bengal. This state of suspense remained in existence till the Battle of Surajgarh in which Sher Khan scored a victory over the Nuhani led by Jalal Khan and assisted by the auxiliary forces of the king of Bengal."⁸⁵

"But for the victory at Suraj Gadh," rightly observed Dr. Qanungo, "The Jagirdar of Sasaram would have never emerged out of his obscurity..... to run a race for the Empire with hereditary crown heads like Bahadur Shah and Humayun Padshah."⁸⁶ Indeed it was the battlefield of Suraj Gadh where the germs of Sher Khan's greatness first became manifest. It witnessed the enfeeblement of the Nuhani as well as the beginning of the end of the Husaini dynasty of Bengal.

Rama Shankar Avasthy rightly pointed out that, "On the eve of Humayun's accession, Sher Khan held the country of Bihar, and, also possibly, the fort of Chunar.

⁸¹*Tarikh-i-Shershahi*, p. 58.

⁸²Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, p. 243.

⁸³*Baburnama*, pp. 671,674.

⁸⁴Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV, London, 1872-73, p. 332.

⁸⁵*Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 328.

⁸⁶Kalika Ranjan Qanungo, *Sher Shah and His Times*, op. cit., pp. 104-05, cited in: Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, p. 247.

Side by side, Sultan Mahmood Lodi had, also, been consolidating his position probably in Northern Bihar. We have detailed elsewhere the circumstances leading to the battle of Daura and the part of Sher Khan therein. The siege and the treaty of Chunar that followed soon after have also been similarly dealt with.⁸⁷

A huge army of Sher Shah, comprising of forty thousand cavalry, two hundred thousand infantry, fifteen hundred elephants and a fleet of three hundred boats move towards 'Teliagadhi' and 'Sakri Gali' overtake to fall upon Gaur.⁸⁸ His passage was stopped by the Portuguese auxiliaries of Sultan Mahmud. By the overtake Sher Shah Stole a march of Gaur by the path of an indefinite medium.⁸⁹ Sultan Mahmud was not able to proffer opposition salaried a large amount of money to thirteen lakhs of 'dinars' to the Sur invader and resolved peacefulness with him.⁹⁰

Campos told us, "Sultan Mahmud concluded peace with him (Sher Khan) although Martim Affonso de Mello advised him to contrary..... The soundness of Mello's advice was apparent when Sher Shah soon after attacked Mahmud Shah again....."⁹¹ Later Campos again told about as his annual tribute a large amount of money was demanded by Sher Shah but "Mahmud Shah, who had never agreed to any such compact, refused to pay the tribute....."⁹²

3.3 The Battle of Chausa

Humayun could only live in Bengal for three or four months,⁹³ more than half of which was captured by rain, during which it is difficult to solve. Thus, the emperor's migration in Bengal was less than that which he had accomplished during this period. Upon entering Bengal, they devastated the whole country with wars and wasted due to the deprivation of Afghans.⁹⁴

"Jauhar expressed to us that his Majesty divided the country of Bengal among his nobles⁹⁵ which, in other words, means that this was a scheme of conquest by

⁸⁷Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, pp. 248-249.

⁸⁸J. J. A Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1979, p. 38.

⁸⁹J.J. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, op. Cit., p. 38.

⁹⁰ibid., p. 39.

⁹¹ibid.

⁹²ibid.

⁹³Jauhar Aftabchi, *Tazkirat-ul- Waqiat or private memoirs of the Mughal Emperor Humayun*, Tr. Major Charles Stewart, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1904, p. 13.

⁹⁴*Humayunnama*, p. 60.

⁹⁵*Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, op. cit., p. 13.

assignments, similar to the one that Babur had adopted after the battle of Panipat. And what else could Humayun have done, especially when we know that the country yet remained to be conquered and the royal stay in Bengal was so short and brief.”⁹⁶

When Humayun halted in Bengal, he could not stay in the western part of his Empire. He reached Bengal during the peak of the rain, when not completely unexpected; all the ways of interaction became problematic.⁹⁷ Sher Khan took away from the back of the emperor sometime after taking over the occupation of most of the intervention country of Banaras and perhaps the Gau and Mughal couriers stopped for it.⁹⁸

Rama Shankar Avasthy expressed, “A march through the southern bank would have led the Emperor to the fort of Chunar, still in the hands of the Mughal governor, Beg Mirak. As already pointed out, the fort of Chunar was the half-way house between Agra and Patna and had been the base of Sher Khan’s aggression against the Mughals. Humayun’s stay in the fort would have had various salutary effects. Firstly, it would have kept the Emperor in touch with the alarming developments at Agra and Delhi, because the line of communication through the Jumna was still immune to Sher Khan’s control. Secondly, it would have loosened Sher Khan’s hold over Kara-Manikpur and Kannaui and would have purged the Gangetic route (up to Kannaui) off Afghan influence. Thirdly, the fort of Chunar was a commodious and a strong fort and could safely and easily shelter the Mughals against the inclemency of the weather. And lastly, Chunar occupied a strategic position on the borders of South Bihar especially of Shahabad district and as such Humayun could have used the fort in question as to the base of his military operations against Sher Khan.”⁹⁹

Suddenly, Sher Khan allowed the emperor to enter the south Bihar country with his army. This naturally distraught inveterate Sur leader and transformed his strategy of hostility in one of the self-defense. As a result, we find that Sher Khan allowed the Emperor to go through South Bihar without joining the open battle. At the same time, he acquired all varieties of care and cautions. If necessary, he prepared a wide army to meet

⁹⁶Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, pp. 300-301.

⁹⁷*Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 340.

⁹⁸*Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 341.

⁹⁹Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, p. 323.

the enemy.¹⁰⁰ He sent a strong separation to trouble the Mughal army and to see its progress carefully through South Bihar but he did personally appear against Humayun.¹⁰¹ As long as the later does not cross the river 'Karmnasha', perhaps its westernmost border. Sher Khan did this, perhaps, because he caught that a defeat at the hands of the Mughals would undo his whole life work in his country. It proved to the master of both the states of Bihar and Bengal and proved the status of the emperor, and the existence of Sher Khan would be endangered.

Unlike Humayun's hopes, the southern banks of the Ganges have failed to tolerate an easy route for the Mughal army. We are told that he still did not camp fully on Maner when he had to fight a compulsory association with Afghan separation.¹⁰² After two days,¹⁰³ the Afghans grasped the famous siege of Humayun named 'Koh-Shikan', which fruitfully used by Rumi Khan during the last siege of Chunar.¹⁰⁴

Humayun led towards Chunar. In four days he reached Chausa, where he crossed the river 'Karmanasha' from a bridge, specially built for the intention. It was about the commencement of March 1539 A.D.¹⁰⁵

The arrival of two princes to Agra had a good effect on the situation. It placed two enemies in one scene of action, each of which was committed to acting as a break on the other's ambition. That is why we find that once again the political atmosphere of the Mughal capital was accused of allegiance to Amity and Emperor,¹⁰⁶ and once again Mirza and the royal officer joined hands with each other and supported the emperor's whole heart and would have put down Sher Khan.¹⁰⁷ He crossed the river Jumna to connect Humayun in Chausa.¹⁰⁸ But a bad star has presided over the eastern garden of Humayun, because Mirza Haidar has told us that some distorted advisers dissolved Mirza Kamran and others saying, 'To go to Chausa would release the Emperor to destroy his enemy and ensnare us.'¹⁰⁹ Kamran and others withdrew their move to Agra.

¹⁰⁰ Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 369.

¹⁰¹ *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, p. 16.

¹⁰² *ibid.*

¹⁰³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, op. cit., p. 471.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 340.

¹⁰⁹ *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 471.

After this disappearance of the unconsciousness of hope was not harmful in the form of the emperor. We are told by Nizamuddin Ahmad and other people that when news camps (at Chausa) became very anxious and uncomfortable to Mughal soldiers.¹¹⁰

A more serious problem arose. There was a lack of food and feed in Mughal camp,¹¹¹ which has still become stronger as the men of Sher Khan were obstructing the fierce battle of the imperialists. As a result, with the advent of Beg Mirak from Chunar and Baba Beg Jalair strength from Jaunpur did not improve. If he made them worse, Gulbadan Begum tells us that he presented maize more rare and sweet in Mughal camp.¹¹²

Rama Shankar Avasthy described "Negotiations soon after began in between the rival parties. Sher Khan proposed terms according to what he sought the cession of Bengal, and also insisted upon the extension of his eastern limits up to the fort of Chunar, which he also demanded, probably, to consolidate his acquisition. In return, he promised to retain the '*Khutbah*' and '*Sikkah*' in the name of the Mughal Emperor. It may be contended that the terms enumerated above were too exorbitant as compared with those demanded by Sher Khan on a previous occasion. But we must remember that Sher Khan then was only the master of South Bihar, but now, the Sur hero had to his credit the consolidated conquest of more than half of the Mughal Empire. If he laid down the terms related above it was neither strange nor unreasonable."¹¹³

During the last watch of the morning of Safar 9, 946 H. (June 7, 1537) Sher Khan started a fake campaign against the king of Jharkhand in general.¹¹⁴ After a long distance of 5 miles, the protagonist stopped and told his Afghan followers the true purpose of their counterfeit campaign was to throw Mughal with his guard with the belief that the operation was against another enemy.¹¹⁵ He more said that it was high time to start and start their attacks on their sleep enemies.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 43, cited in: Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, p. 331.

¹¹¹ *Humayunnama*, p. 41.

¹¹² *ibid.*

¹¹³ Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, pp. 332-333.

¹¹⁴ Naimatullah Herwi, *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Tr. Barnhard Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Sushil Gupta, Calcutta, 1965 and Oriental Translation Committee, London, 1829, p. 120.

¹¹⁵ *History of the Afghans*, Tr. Dorn, op. Cit., p. 121.

¹¹⁶ Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV, p. 374.

Sher Khan goes ahead with three sides to attack his foes, east, south and west by which the Ganga blocked in the north. Consequently, the Afghan army was divided into three wings, under whose leadership Sher Khan himself, was the second by Jalal Khan and the third by Khawas Khan.¹¹⁷ It is being done, Sher Khan fell on the Mughal camp on sunrise on Sunday, Safar 9, 946 H. (June 7, 1539 A.D.).¹¹⁸

While implementing a horrific scene of the Afghan massacre, the ones who were going to bear their sword, Mughals were drowned in a drunken river.¹¹⁹ Muhammad Zaman Mirza, thanks to that, that was to be alert that night, was freely excited at a caring.¹²⁰ Suddenly, everyone from all three sides with a sound like a roar. Afghans had discharged their principles to begin action on each of the three matches together.¹²¹

The imperialists were awake in confusion and it was too late for the Afghans.¹²² We are told that the Mughals rarely had time to get out of their tent and there was no time to stop their cuirass and goose bumps. Many of them were put in the sword in the tilt of the eyes.¹²³

The Mughal Emperor was now placed in a very dangerous situation. The foe started to surround him, while his men were not willing to unite with him.¹²⁴ But Humayun, although injured, remained useless and vulgar in his determination to fight.¹²⁵ One of his loyal followers seized the ruthlessness of his horse and advised retirement from the field.¹²⁶

Ishwari Prasad described, "The Emperor with great difficult affected his escape from the field of battle. He was pursued by Farid Khan Gur's party, dispatched by Sher Khan while his onward march was impeded by Shah Muhammad Afghan who confronted him in the front. But in this unfortunate plight valuable help was given by Raja Bhir Bhan of Arail, who scattered the Afghans and cleared the road. Thus freed from danger, the imperialists preceded further and reached Kara where they found plenty

¹¹⁷ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 343.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 344.

¹¹⁹ *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, p. 43.

¹²⁰ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 344.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p. 345.

¹²² *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, p. 18.

¹²³ Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV, p. 375.

¹²⁴ *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, p. 18.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 18.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

of corn and grass for their horses. The Emperor intended to proceed along the bank of the Ganges, but, when he learnt that the Afghans had posted themselves at Kannauj to impede his progress, he turned his course and crossing the Jumna, passed on to Kalpi.¹²⁷

The consequences of the battle of Chausa were conclusive. Sher Khan and the Afghans were now highest in Bengal and Bihar. Soon with the advice of heads like Isa Khan, Yusuf Khail, Azam Humayun Sarwani, Mian Babin Lodi and others, Sher Khan who had already enjoyed the title of Hazrat Ali, honour of royalty and favourable time, fixed by astrologers, he placed himself upon the throne under the title of Sher Shah. The coins were struck, *Khutbah* was declared on his name and he took over the title of Shah Alam. Isa Khan was asked to draft a major *firman* of victory, while fewer documents were assigned to clerks. Afghan youth came from far and wide and celebrated this occasion to dance with the joy of their tribe's fashion. Afghan national resurrection was the first and foremost fruit.

3.4 Battle of Kannauj and Flight of Humayun

After two full years of constitutional absence, Mughal Emperor returned to Agra in Safar 946H. (June-July, 1539 A.D.).¹²⁸ His return to the seat of his government was not after any hostile or rude display from any corner. Rather, the arrival of Humayun for the time restored good wishes in Amity and Mughal capital and printed all signs of treason and insecurity.

In *Bagh-i-Zarafshan* he was received extensively by Mirza Kamran.¹²⁹ Hindus took part in four days after them. Because of his high regard for Mirza Kamran and Dildar Begam, Humayun did not carry any preventive or exemplary punishment on Mirza Hindal and forgave him.¹³⁰

The battle of Kannauj prevents us to briefly review Sher Khan's activities during the brief interim. After his victory over the Mughals, Sher Khan made his projection valid for the sovereignty by the formal politician's celebrations, and officially titled Sher Shah, Sultan-i-Adil, after this, he had already sent Jalal Khan Jalu and Haji Khan Batni¹³¹ with an Afghan separation to quench the Mughal influence in Bengal,¹³² and

¹²⁷ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 136.

¹²⁸ *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 471.

¹²⁹ *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, p. 19.

¹³⁰ *Humayunnama*, p. 42.

¹³¹ *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, p. 149.

himself soon followed them. Mughal governor bravely faced Afghan hostesses but he could not stay for a long time.

Like his great partner Bahadur Shah, Sher Shah as well planned to initiate a triple-hostile against the Mughal Emperor. It depended on a plan of checks and balances. Consequently, Sher Shah was himself to start an assault. He was to cross the Ganges and occupy Kannauj.¹³³ On this, he has foreseen a fight with the Mughal Emperor who, he expected, would progress towards Kannauj to remove the Afghans from that area.¹³⁴

A plan so astutely arranged appears to have been executed with the impulsive rapidity. Apparently without guaranteeing himself of the great reaction¹³⁵ and participation of the leaders of Malwa and Gujrat Sher Shah set out upon his battles against the Mughal Empire. In about Shawwal 946 H. (Feb.- March 1540 A.D.) he crossed the Ganges and occupied Kannauj while his son Qutb Khan Sur assaulted Kalpi and Etawah.¹³⁶

The counter gadget of the Emperor demonstrated an extraordinary achievement. The prince lets of Malwa neither collaborated nor directed their developments with those of Qutb Khan who was crushed and slaughtered most likely at Chandrawar close Kalpi.¹³⁷ Qutb Khan's head was sent as a trophy to the Mughal capital.

The Emperor chose to cross the Ganges and battle Sher Shah immediately. He ordered a bridge of boats to be tossed over the Bhojpur ship¹³⁸ yet on its fulfillment, he dropped down the venture and continued by moderate walks to Kannauj¹³⁹ inferable from different plausible reasons. Initially, the elephant Girdbaz had partly broken the bridge¹⁴⁰ and Humayun presumably thought of it as purposeless to carry on work of fixes in the teeth of the gloomy Afghan resistance. Besides, the men of the imperial vanguard who had swum over the stream had not fared well against the Afghans.¹⁴¹ This most likely made the radicals reluctant to cross the river and connect with the adversary

¹³² *ibid.*

¹³³ Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, VOL. IV, p. 378.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*

¹³⁵ Qanungo, *Sher Shah and His Times*, op. Cit., p. 212.

¹³⁶ *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 472.

¹³⁷ *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, p. 151.

¹³⁸ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 349.

¹³⁹ *ibid.* P. 350.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*

in its own region. Thirdly, Raja Bir Bhanu of Arail had offered to join the Emperor¹⁴² which most likely drove the last stick around for opportunity till Raja's appearance. And last, however the most significant of all, Kannauj instructed the straight routes to Lucknow and Awadh, the operational hubs of the trans-Gangetic tracts. By ending and intersection the Ganges at Kannauj, Humayun could swoop downward on these places and, from that point, recover ownership of the whole region.

In about the previous week of April 1540 A.D. Humayun arrived at Kannauj. He did not straight-way cross the river and carried fire and sword through the adversary's nation. Rather, he remained settled at Kannauj for one entire month¹⁴³ (March-April 1540 A.D.) most likely inferable for different reasons. Initially, close by the imperialists, Sher Shah had also, walked on the consequent eastern bank of the Ganges and was lying encamped on the intersection inverse Kannauj.¹⁴⁴

"The departure of Mirza Kamran," rightly observed Mirza Haidar, "was the turning point in the rise of Sher Khan and the downfall of the Chaghtai power."¹⁴⁵ It harmed the Mughal cause in more than one way. The greater part of the Mughal soldiery presently started to consider 'safety first and everything else afterwards' to be the primary rule of all things. They further appear to have imagined that Lahore was the most secure out of every other place on earth for them. As a result, we find that Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons abandoned the Emperor and went to Lahore.¹⁴⁶

Sher Shah wrote to the Emperor, "I have for some time entrenched myself here. The emperor has the power to choose. If he condescends to cross the river he may fight with me on this side or if he wishes I may cross the river and fight with him on that side."¹⁴⁷ Since Humayun had just chosen to cross the river, he happily admitted the dare and wrote to Sher Shah, "If you retreat some miles from the water-side, I will cross the river and give you a straight battle."¹⁴⁸ Sher Shah did as wanted and retreated around ten or twelve miles¹⁴⁹ after which the Emperor ordered a bridge to be tossed over the stream.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴²Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat, pp. 42-43.

¹⁴³Akbarnama, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 350.

¹⁴⁴ibid., p. 351.

¹⁴⁵Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 472.

¹⁴⁶Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 474.

¹⁴⁷Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, p. 159.

¹⁴⁸ibid.

¹⁴⁹ibid.

¹⁵⁰Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p. 475.

Humayun avoided potential risks and exhibited his powers in a battling order. Seven hundred and twenty-one gun carriages with chains extending in the middle of them, and five hundred gunners instructed by Ustad Ali Quli, Husain Khalifa, Ustad Ahmad Rumi, and Muhammad Rumi were positioned behind the principle channel in front of the centre.¹⁵¹ Mir Tardi Beg and Muwayyad Beg led the imperial van. The right wing was in charge of Mirza Askari while the right centre was led by the Emperor and Mirza Haidar Doghlat. The left flank was directed by Yadgar Nasir Mirza and the left centre was in charge of Mirza Hindal.¹⁵²

The Afghan van comprised of around 3,000 in number under Khawas Khan and Isa Khan Niyazi.¹⁵³ The right wing was directed by Jalal Khan Sur and Jalal Khan Jalu helped by Mubariz Khan, Bahadur Khan, and the Niyazis.¹⁵⁴ The Afghan left was headed by Adil Khan Sur, Qutub Khan, Rai Husain Jalwani, Barmazid Gaur and others.¹⁵⁵ Sher Shah himself instructed the centre and the most noticeable among the individuals who comprised his division were Azam Humayun Sarwani, Isa Khan Sarwani, Kutub Khan Lodi, Haji Khan, Buland Khan, and Sarmast Khan.¹⁵⁶ Behind these battling units, Sher Shah as well positioned two other flanking divisions¹⁵⁷ to impose shock assaults upon the adversary from the back. Notwithstanding this, the Afghan position was additionally strengthened by profound channels on both the eastern and the western sides.¹⁵⁸

Sher Shah got empowering reports from the other part of his military. His left-wing and van under Adil Khan Sur and Khawas Khan assaulted the Mughal right under Mirza Askari and crushed him.¹⁵⁹ The Mughal soldiers of the right wing being directed fled to the right centre under the Emperor and tossed it into a dilemma.¹⁶⁰

Exploiting it the Afghan flanking separation wheeled round to the right back of the Mughal armed force and started its attacks upon the camp-adherents of the Mughal grandees of the right division. This rendered uncertainty more regrettable frustrated in

¹⁵¹*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 475.

¹⁵²*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 475.

¹⁵³*ibid.*, p. 476.

¹⁵⁴*Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, p. 21.

¹⁵⁵*ibid.*

¹⁵⁶*History of the Afghans*, Tr. Dorn, p. 126.

¹⁵⁷*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 476.

¹⁵⁸*Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, p. 153.

¹⁵⁹*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 475.

¹⁶⁰*ibid.*

the Mughal armed force.¹⁶¹ Mirza Haidar reveals to us that ‘the numerous rank-followers and menial servants of the Mughal grandees bluntly rushed out in terror....as it was impossible to hold our ground. They so pressed us from the rear that they drove the centre upon the chains.’¹⁶²

Rama Shankar Avasthy expressed, “In the history of medieval India the battle of Kannauj marks the close of one chapter and the opening of another. It completed the work of Chausa by transferring the sovereignty of Hindustan from the house of Babur to that of the Surs with Sher Shah as its first ‘de jure’ as well as ‘de facto’ Emperor. Secondly, the battle of Kannauj avenged the defeat of the Afghans at the battle of Panipat where about a decade and a half back the Afghan cause had recoiled beyond all hopes of regeneration. Panipat had established the superiority of Mughal arms and tactics over those of the Afghans; now by the same weapons and tactics the Afghans scored their victory over their Chaghtai enemies. Thirdly, the Mughal defeat in the battle of Kannauj dealt an irreparable blow to Humayun’s power and prestige. People now began to look down upon him as the representative of a lost cause.”¹⁶³

During the Emperor's humiliating retreat towards Agra, the agricultural workers of Bhu Gaon made antagonistic showings. They shut the market¹⁶⁴ and even assaulted the imperialists with around three thousand horse.¹⁶⁵ Besides, on advent at his capital, Humayun did not discover his feet on secure ground. The Afghan hosts under Barmazid Gaur were thumping at his door¹⁶⁶ and subversion had raised its head on each side.¹⁶⁷

As a result of Humayun's host Mir Rafi-al-Din¹⁶⁸ this further affected the futility of resistance. The Mir further counselled his imperial visitor to quickly stop Agra and resign to the Punjab where with Mirza Kamran's collaboration he could even now make an endeavor to recover his reason.¹⁶⁹ “Accordingly,” stated Mirza Haidar, “Humayun made no tarry but ordered Mirza Hindal and all servants to bring out the royal household and treasures.”¹⁷⁰

¹⁶¹ibid.

¹⁶²ibid., p. 476.

¹⁶³Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, pp. 375-376.

¹⁶⁴*Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 354.

¹⁶⁵ibid.

¹⁶⁶*History of the Afghans*, Tr. Dorn p.122.

¹⁶⁷*Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 355.

¹⁶⁸ibid.

¹⁶⁹ibid.

¹⁷⁰*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 477.

In the second week of Muharram 947H. (May 17-22, 1540 A.D.) Humayun left Agra for Lahore. He stopped in Fatehpur Sikri¹⁷¹ maybe for a few hours to get your family and treasure¹⁷² and was soon devastated because the Afghans were close on his heels and wounded some of his people.¹⁷³ His fears were then confirmed by the Afghans during March.¹⁷⁴ The peasants of the villages en route also disturbed the royal party and hindered its progress.¹⁷⁵

Raziuddin Aquil expressed, "Later, on the day of the battle, having put his forces in order, Sher Shah exhorted the Afghans to fight bravely, declaring that he himself would come out alive from the battlefield only when he was triumphant. Incidentally the battle took place on the 10th of Muharram (947/1540). The significance of this date in Islamic history is well known. The battle of Karbala was fought on this date between two muslim armies, leaders of both claiming that they were 'just' in the eyes of Allah. In tune with the Shi'ite lamentation, the Mughals coined the following chronogram after their defeat at Qannauj: *Kharabi-i-mulk-i-dilli* (desolation of the kingdom of Delhi).¹⁷⁶

The Emperor had to proceed under special precaution.¹⁷⁷ On Muharram 18, 947 H. (May 25, 1540A.D.) He somehow reached Dehli. Where he was involved with Qasim Hussain Sultan and others.¹⁷⁸ On May 29, 1540, A.D. He came from Alwar, adhered him.¹⁷⁹ However the people of Rohtak defamed the doors of their city against the inept ruler.¹⁸⁰ Humayun moved forward after some hard work by him. On June 24, 1540, A.D.¹⁸¹ arrived at Sirhind where he left Mirza Hindal.¹⁸²

In July 1540 A.D. Humayun reached Lahore, he thought that his empire had shrunk from Sirhind to the narrow border in the east to Kabul and Badakhshan in the west. This claim was not without justification because Humayun's coin and 'Khutba' was operational throughout Punjab and the North-Western Province.¹⁸³

¹⁷¹ *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, p. 24.

¹⁷² *ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁷³ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁷⁵ *Humayunnama*, p. 48.

¹⁷⁶ Raziuddin Aquil, *Sufism, Culture and Politics, Afghans and Islam in Medieval North India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2007, p. 96.

¹⁷⁷ *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, p. 24.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*

¹⁸² *ibid.*

¹⁸³ Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, p. 385.

On the other hand Kamran was not ready to accept any such claims. He had claimed the Punjab, Kabul, and Qandahar nearly by power. He never paid any fixed tribute to the central exchequer and his domestic or foreign policy was neither directed nor guided by the central authority at Agra. Kamran had no uncertainty struck coin and read 'Khutba in his elder brothers's name yet that was more out of politeness instead of impulse.¹⁸⁴

The required essentially occurred. Humayun came to Lahore and corresponded his ask for to Sher Shah to permit him to remain calmly in Punjab. Kamran could not see this with composure. He ceased from collaborating with his elder brother most likely because of two reasons. Firstly, the Emperor was going to deny him of his province; secondly, Kamran most likely felt jumbled to find that his elder brother needed to increase the two different ways; for from one perspective he (Humayun) was looking for the Mirza's help to battle Sher Shah; on the other, he was consulting with Sher Shah to harry the Prince (Kamran) out of his legacy. Subsequently, Kamran chose to battle strategy with discretion.¹⁸⁵ Like his elder brother, he additionally opened dealings with Sher Shah and secretly charged Humayun's emissary Qazi Abdullah to pass on to the Afghan Emperor "that if Punjab were secured to him as formerly he would soon bring the affairs to a successful issue."¹⁸⁶

Indeed, even preceding the receipt of Sher Shah's last answer Kamran had chosen to leave Lahore and resign to Kabul.¹⁸⁷ It is probable, the Mirza probably did this because his conversations with Sher Shah were not progressing well. The well Mirza's choice was most likely incited by another thought also. Kamran saw Humayun's interactions with dislike and mistrust, and, perhaps, thwarting Humayun's plans with his support. However, while leaving Lahore for Kabul Kamran wanted to carry most of the Mughal soldiers with him. To accomplish this, the Mirza chose to play a strong trump-card. He realized that the Mughal nobility and the civil populace of Lahore currently numbering around 200,000 house-holders¹⁸⁸ were hysterical and that the fear of Afghan arms hung over them.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ibid.

¹⁸⁵ibid., p. 387.

¹⁸⁶*Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 358.

¹⁸⁷*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 480-81.

¹⁸⁸ibid.

¹⁸⁹ibid., p. 477, 480-81.

Sher Shah normally felt excited to get the letters of Humayun as well as of Kamran.¹⁹⁰ He sent his arrival agent to Lahore and through him further guaranteed himself, about the sad and savage situation in the Mughal camp¹⁹¹ at Lahore. Feeling certain that it was an easy job to drive the Mughals out of Punjab he sent brief answers to both Humayun as well as Kamran, asking that the previous retrace his means to Kabul¹⁹² and questioning the very authority of the last to consult with him.¹⁹³ This was trailed by the outbreak of open threats. Sher Shah assaulted and vanquished Sirhind.¹⁹⁴ Around the same month, he crossed the Satlaj river and occupied Sultanpur on the river Beas.¹⁹⁵

“The Afghan was at Sirhind, Humayun hearing that he was about to advance on Lahore, sent a message to him saying, “What justice is there in this? I have left you the whole of Hindustan. Leave Lahore alone and let Sirhind, where you are, be a boundary between you and me.” Sher Shah entered into the spirit of the message, and said grimly: “I have left you Kabul; go there.”¹⁹⁶

The Mughal Emperor had now on a fixed plan in his brain. He had assured to join Mirza Haidar in Kashmir on receipt of hopeful reports from him;¹⁹⁷ he additionally nursed a craving to go to Kabul or Badakhshan. Without having had the option to at last choose anything, Humayun left the western bank of the river Ravi and walked towards the north. On the next morning, he showed up Hazara on the river 'Chenab'.¹⁹⁸ Here Kamran officially looked for the Emperor's consent to leave for Kabul.¹⁹⁹

Humayun communicated a craving to go with the ruler to his crown-area however discovering Kamran reluctant he communicated his desire to resign to Badakhshan.²⁰⁰ The Mirza similarly questioned his arrangement, on which the poor Emperor gave way. Kamran officially took leave of his elder brother and rushed off to Bhira²⁰¹ where he was joined by Khwaja Kalan. He at that point continued to Khushab²⁰² wherefrom he, at last,

¹⁹⁰ *Humayunnama*, p. 48.

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*

¹⁹² *ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁹³ *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, p. 26.

¹⁹⁴ *Humayunnama*, p. 4

¹⁹⁵ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 359.

¹⁹⁶ *Humayunnama*, p. 144 cited in: Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 159.

¹⁹⁷ *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p.481.

¹⁹⁸ *Humayunnama*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁹⁹ *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, p. 27.

²⁰⁰ *Humayunnama*, pp. 49-50.

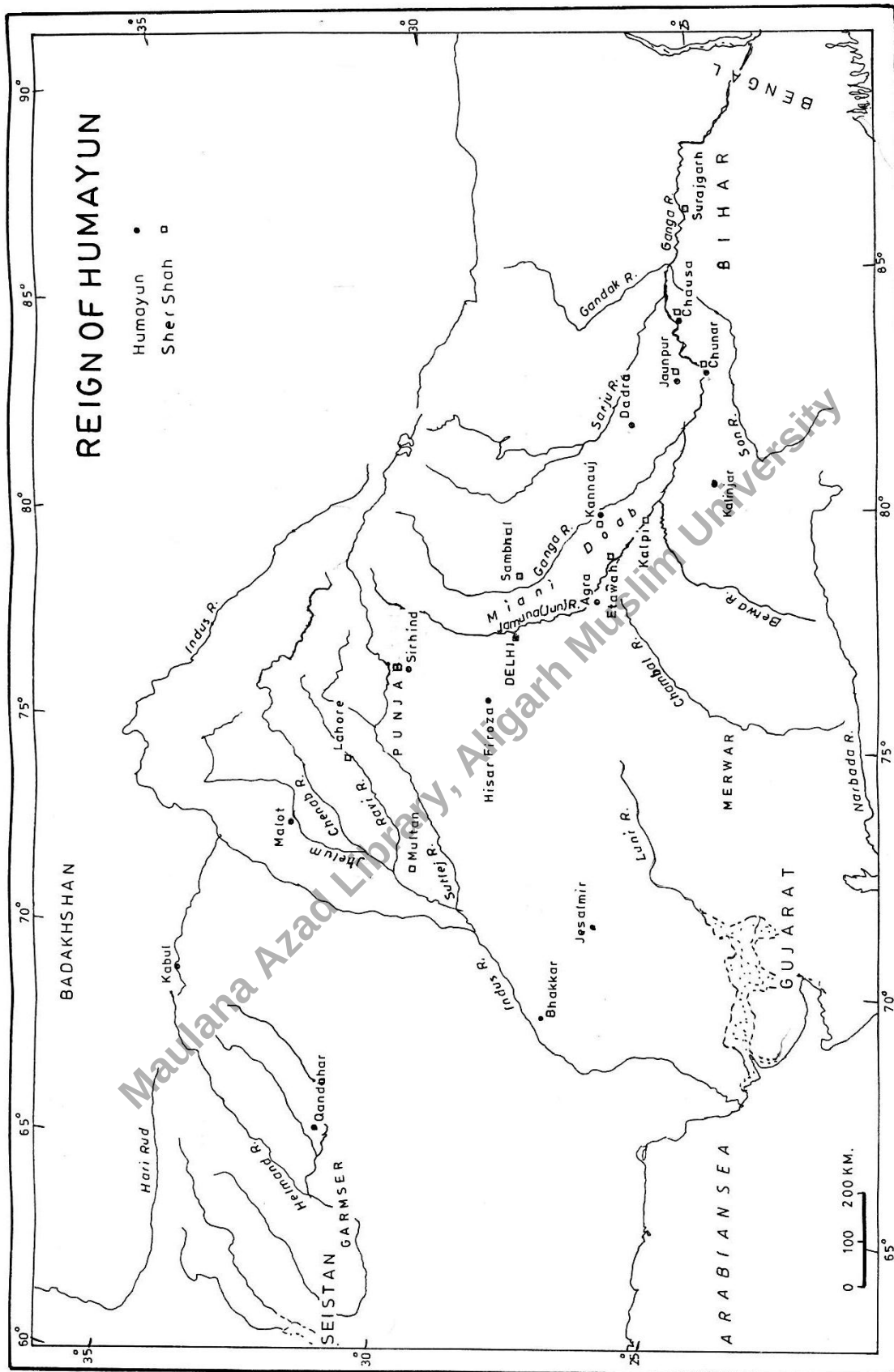
²⁰¹ *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, p. 27.

²⁰² *ibid.*

departed for Kabul. He was joined by Mirza Askari and an enormous number of Humayun's men.

Thus we can say that while Babur was trying to expand his kingdom, Humayun was born on 17 March 1508 during this period. Humayun ascended the throne after his father's death in 1530. Humayun faced two rebellions: one from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and the other from Sher Shah Suri. Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah at the Battle of Chausa in 1539, after Chausa was again defeated in 1540 at Kannauj. Humayun fled to Agra to leave the battlefield.

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CHAPTER-4
***POLITICAL RELATIONS OF HUMAYUN
WITH THE RAJPUTS AND THE
AFGHANS***

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It is necessary to study this aspect as the Afghans were the main adversaries of the Mughals among the Muslim nationalities and the Mughals owed much to the legacy of the administrative genius and organizational capabilities of a unique Afghan, Sher Shah Suri. The contribution too of the Sur rule to the formation of Mughal Polity requires to be stood in the brain.¹

Sher Shah's grandfather Ibrahim Sur and his father Husain migrated from Afghanistan to India in search of new pastures. The father and son pair, in the beginning, joined the service of Bahlol Lodi in Punjab. It is said that Farid, the later-day popular hero, and sovereign Sher Shah, was born in Punjab in AD 1472. Farid learned and practiced the art of administration for a full 21 years as the future ruler of his father's jagir with the blessings of his benefactor Jamal Khan.

4.1 Rise of the Sur Empire

The rise of Sher Shah's sovereignty is counted by some evolutions which brought about significant changes in the religion of thought and institutions. Sher Shah was amply imbued with the thought of his over the importance and great power; he made others also thrust in him as he had with success established his high quality over them in peacefulness as well as in battle ever before his upraise to sovereignty. He carried so fruits of his triumphs in the captured territories, wiping away all that was outworn there. His accomplishments more than compensated for the devastation of life and property by the Mughals.²

They framed his temperament and oddity. He acquired mostly reforms and ordinances of Sultan Alauddin Khalji but did not like to be irrelevantly boisterous in his behaviour as the last had complete. According to his perspectives, the ruler should maintain in constituting concord and affluence and assuring unprejudiced justice to all without any favouritism.³

Sher Khan's official documents as a able leader came to the fore in his battles against the Bengalis and the Mughals whose armies were both numerically and technologically better to his.⁴

¹ M. Athar Ali, *Towards an Interpretation of the Mughal Empire*, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1978, p. 39.

² Nurul Hasan, *Lataif-i-Quddusi, (A Contemporary Afghan Source)* Medieval India Quarterly, Aligarh, 1950, pp. 63,68,72,78

³ Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, op. cit., pp. 126-127

⁴ Raziuddin Aquil, *Sufism, Culture, and Politics, Afghans and Islam in Medieval North India*, op. cit., p. 81.

There was a fact in the *Lataif-i-Quddusi* which throws light on Sher Shah's absolutism and also nullifies the myth made by Abbas Sarwani that the Sur king demonstrated irrelevant respect for the vulnerabilities of the Afghans. The evidence should be spotlighted that Sher Shah was a perfect ruler who never accumulated any opponent to his strategies. He never concerned for the feelings of his Afghan followers if they appeared differing from him on any matter as the contemporary fact demonstrates:

"When Sher Shah ordered that the families of the Afghans (probably in certain sarkars of the Doab including Sambhal should be sent to the fort of Gwalior the eunuchs were appointed to record them in the registers and send the families, and in case they refused move set their houses on fire and send them forcibly with disgrace."⁵

In short, Sher Shah organized the kingdom head and soldier above the nobility. He was a great sovereign, and it is improper to presume that "he started with a compromise between the early Turkish principle of an absolute monarch and tribal leadership of Bahlol."⁶ The specialist of the Mughals was well-established universally north India.

Sher Shah accepted the procedure towards his nobles, directed them to subserve the royal comforts. They told him about the difficulties, which suffered them preferably than his snoops. They did not consider it smart on their part to settle them of their own harmony. Henceforth, it was in Lahore when Khawas Khan and Haibat Khan Niazi disputed on administrative trouble; the previous at once told his master about the trouble advising that one of them should be remembered, it was impossible between them as act together. Khawas Khan, Isa Khan Niazi and Habib Khan Kakkar all these three were recalled by Sher Shah, and Haibat Khan Niazi was left there in charge of the government of all the *sarkars* elsewhere the river Sutlej. Two other people also left under him named Mubarak Khan Sur and Hamid Khan Kakkar. The previous controlled the region of Roh (North-Western Frontier region of Modern Pakistan) whereas the advanced ruled over Nagar Kot, Jwalamukhi, Dihdawal and Jammu hills with iron-hand.⁷ As the *supreme muqta*, Haibat Khan Niazi kept the high rank of 30,000 *sawars*.⁸

⁵*Lataif-i-Quddusi*, op. cit., p. 85.

⁶R. P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of the Muslim Administration in India*, Central Book Depot, reprint, Allahabad, 1974. pp. 96-97.

⁷*Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 214-226.

⁸*ibid.*, p. 226.

Sher Shah felt so much pleasure through his conquest of Multan that he permitted him to protection of its government to one of his generals and repopulate it because it was placed leftover by the domination of the Bilochs. Haibat Khan protected Fath Khan with its administration in totting to that of *Sarkar-i-Dipalpur* a place where he was before now functioning. Peace and order restored by Fath Khan and within a short period Multan converted affluent. He collected only one-fourth of the agricultural produce as the state share in harmony with the majestic order. In gratitude for these facilities Haibat Khan was recompensed with the high title of *Azam Humayun* and red shelter.⁹

Islam Shah sent his chief nobles to investigate for his health, and also planned to understand him directly to obscure his own corruption. Shuja'at Khan sent the message to the prince: "I am the servant of your father. I have never cared about my life and death in his service. I am one of those thirty-five persons who co-operated with your father, raised the flag of your father's greatness and it is known to everybody. I have escaped from the danger and someday I shall sacrifice myself in your service. You should not take trouble to see me. Your kindness and inquiry (about my health) is indeed a great favour to me."¹⁰

There is no doubt, Islam Shah accomplished an aim in creating his nobility in need of on regal goodwill but the severe ways accepted by him completed the life of the nobles and soldiers actual wretched. They screeched under his strong hand. But their obscured disapproval for him advance made his hostility in the direction of them. Badauni says: "He became thirsty of the blood of the Afghans and more determined than before to destroy them."¹¹ In an endeavour to diminish them to wretched situations, he halted the reimbursement of salary and grants of the nobles and soldiers (in 1549 A.D.). The people, who were with him, no one could become even a single fruit from the exchequer. And they had not valour to begin a deal with a matter to him for the reimbursement of their amount outstanding. At latter, they went to Shah Muhammad Farmuli, one of the significant and confident noble known by his culture and considerable behaviours, and appealed him to beg their case before the leader and said: "Your Majesty: I saw in a dream last night three bags falling from the sky on the earth. One of them contained dust, the other gold and the third had paper; the dust fell on the

⁹ Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tarikh-i- Sher Shahi*, pp. 100, 115, 126.

¹⁰ *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 174-75.

¹¹ Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut- Tawarikh*, , pp. 408-09.

heads of the soldiers, gold into the houses of the Hindus, while the paper fell in the royal exchequer.”¹²

All those Afghan nobles who had much ability considered an advantage and eminence, they were ruined by Islam Shah and whom he doubted to be hostile to his political views.¹³ They were gusted off by the gun-powder in Gwalior jail, and no one could stay alive this apart from Kamal Khan Ghakkar whom Islam Shah later acquitted and upraised to solemnity¹⁴.

Sher Shah was very particular about court decorum and etiquette. He held his *darbar* every day in the morning and the high peers of the empire had to be present there with their *sawars* to salute him. They arranged their *sawars*, who were always in proper military uniform laced with drawn swords and standing in the battle array, and then moved with them one by one before the king according to their rank and position.¹⁵ They were not exempted from this formality even on military expeditions. On such occasions all the nobles in attendance had to prepare for this review as soon as the day dawned and moved towards the king when the royal umbrella appeared within their sight. Mallu Khan, the deposed ruler of Malwa, was so much influenced by the glittering of the swords and lances, weight and brightness of military uniform of the nobles and *sawars* in the shining hot sun that he considered himself completely unfit for Sher Shah's service and fled away from his camp.¹⁶

The introduction of administrative reforms was also an outcome of his enlightened theory of kingship. He modeled his reforms and regulations on those of Sultan Alauddin Khalji but made them humane by avoiding the latter's cruel treatment with the officers. To keep him informed of their conduct, Sher Shah established an active espionage system. The spies were posted in all the cities and distant parts of the Empire for this purpose. The distant vilayets and cities were connected with the centre by a well-established network of roads. Consequently, the agents of the intelligence department could travel fast and easily to inform the king about the activities of the nobles.¹⁷ For instance, the spies of Bengal informed the king about Khizr Khan's marriage with the

¹² *Muntakhab-ut- Tawarikh* , Vol. I, p. 387.

¹³ *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 115.

¹⁴ *Muntakhab-ut- Tawarikh* p. 380.

¹⁵ Raziqullah Mushtaqi, *Waqiat- i- Mushtaqi*, tr. Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, 1993, p. 50

¹⁶ Raziqullah Mushtaqi , *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, op. cit., pp. 26-53; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 146, 152.

¹⁷ *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, p. 50.

daughter of Sultan Mahmud and his public behaviour in a kingly way within a short time.¹⁸ Likewise, *Masnad-i-Ali* Shuja'at Khan was taken by surprise when he got information of his master's displeasure on his ill-treating the royal soldiers, left in Malwa to help him, although he had prevented them from sending petition to the king by redressing their grievance.¹⁹

Hemu was honoured with the highest position in the Sur Empire. The latter also got the advantage of his authority by raising his friends and relations to important posts and ranks to strengthen the royal army against the rebels. Tahariyal, Hemu's nephew, and Bhagwandas were raised to prominent positions.²⁰

As well, Sultan Ibrahim Sur, who advanced his claim to kingship against Adil Shah, also granted ordinary men the ranks of amirs and khans to strengthen his forces, even if they joined him with a few sawars.²¹ But this was certainly a period of political crises when everything was thrown into confusion, and which brought about the fall of the Sur Empire in 1555 A.D.

A few words may also be added here about the claim of the Sur kings to the caliphate. Like the Lodi Sultans, the Surs also called themselves the Caliph of God. Their coins as well as inscriptions on their buildings call them *khalifat al-zaman*, i.e., the caliph of the age.²²

The unit of revenue collection was the *pargana*, of which there were said to be 116,000.²³ In each *pargana* there was an *Amin*, or administrative officer, *shiqdar* or bailiff, a *Khazanadar* or treasurer, a Hindi writer and a Persian writer. Every harvest the land was measured a fresh, and a share fell to the *Muqaddam* (Headman). The assessments were carefully fixed according to the kind of grain so that the interests of the cultivators might be safeguarded. The passage in Elliot's translation is as follows: "Land was measured every harvest and the revenue was collected according to measurement and in proportion to the produce giving one share to the cultivator and a half share to the *Muqaddam*, and fixing the assessment with regard to the kind of grain in order that the

¹⁸ *Tarikh-i-SherShahi*, p. 94.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁰ *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 431.

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 433

²² M. A. Rahim, *History of the Afghans in India A. D. 1545- 1631*, Pakistan Publishing House, Karachi, 1961, pp. 84-85.

²³ H. M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV, p. 424.

Muqaddams, Chaudhris and Amins should not oppress the cultivators who are the support of the prosperity of the kingdom.”²⁴

In the first Afghan Empire, the work of the statesman like the conciliatory Bahlol Lodi had been undone by the cruel and arrogant Ibrahim; so now in the second Afghan Empire the structure completely planned and partially executed by Sher Shah was to be ruined by the imperiousness and violence of Islam Shah. There was, however, this difference between the two cases: Ibrahim was foolish and reckless, and the folly he committed recoiled on him and his mistakes came home to roost not with himself, but with his successors. There is something not far from pathetic in the way in which Islam Shah hounded to death the Amirs who had helped his father to build up the empire of which the whole Afghan race was so proud.²⁵

Thus less than a year after Sher Shah's death, there broke out the second revolt in his distracted empire. But Islam Shah for all his coldness and cruelty was shrewd and hard-hitting, a bold and formidable antagonist. He was not dismayed by the prospect of meeting the entire resources of Punjab with his small force of personal adherents but made his preparations with courage and skill. He first fortified the new suburb of Delhi which Humayun had called *Dinapanah*, and which he now named Salimgarh.²⁶

A fierce battle followed in which Bibi Rabia, the wife of 'Azam Humayun, fought with great courage and finished LalChak Kashmiri with her sword. But in spite of desperate fighting the Afghans were overpowered. 'Azam and his noble and gallant wife with many Afghans were killed, and their heads were sent by Mirza Haider to Islam Shah.²⁷

Friendly relations seem to have been established between Islam Shah and Mirza Haider, for the latter sent his envoys to the Court of Delhi with presents of shawls and saffron as tokens of goodwill.²⁸

The rule of Salim was as personal, though not as popular, like that of his father. Sher Shah had by his great administrative abilities succeeded in reuniting the Afghans under a powerful kingdom. He had the knack of getting the best out of his subordinates

²⁴Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, IV, p. 413.

²⁵Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 186.

²⁶*ibid.*, p. 187.

²⁷*ibid.*, p. 191.

²⁸Mirza Haidar Doghlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* Appendix A, pp. 489-91.

and to their loyal service he owed much of his triumph. He maintained his popularity by his accessibility and justice. Salim, on the other hand, attempted to make himself absolute to crush the great nobles and to rise superior to them on the ruins of their fortune. He was unpopular but ruled by sheer force of character, inspiring great terror by his ruthlessness and energy. His reign went far to break up that feeling of national unity which his father had done so much to foster among the Afghans, by making the name of the king stand for grievous hardships, sternness and “over-government.” The result was that on his death the empire which he had held together in iron bonds broke to pieces almost at once, to the great relief of most of its constituents.²⁹

The serious famine which occurred near Agra during 1555-56 must have added considerably to the difficulties of the government. The historian Badauni inscribed: “In the eastern portion of Hindustan, especially in the country near Agra, Biyana, Delhi, the distress was so acute that *jwar* was sold at one sir for two and a half *tankas*. Even men of wealth and position died by scores without getting neither grave nor shroud.”³⁰

4.2 Externment of Humayun

Having thus traced the growth and decay of the Afghan Empire, which had been raised upon the ruins of Mughal power by the genius and considered policy of Sher Shah, we must now turn back to take up the history of Humayun at the time when he had been forced to leave Hindustan.

The plans which found most favour among the Mughal counselors. The first plan was that which seemed to hold out the best prospects of success, and which appealed most thoroughly to the Emperor. Kamran, however, disturbed Humayun by repeated requests to be allowed to retire to Kabul; while Hindal and Yadgar without consulting anyone, set off for Gujrat, accompanied by a large body of troops. The Emperor, thus left in the lurch, had no choice but to fall in with the plan of Haider, who had long mediated an incursion into Kashmir, being egged on there to by a powerful body of Kashmiri nobles who were dissatisfied with the ruler who then swayed the fortunes of their country. It was agreed that forces were to be collected at Naushera, that Khwajah Kalan was to bring another contingent, and that Humayun was then to join in. But the ubiquitous Kamran, who feared lest his brother should become too powerful by the

²⁹Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 191.

³⁰*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 549.

success of the project, intercepted the Khwajah at Bhira, seized his house and person, and the Emperor, who arrived just afterward, was discouraged and turned back to Khushab. From there he proceeded to Multan and stood on the bank of the Indus, distracted and confused, without any boats to enable him to cross into Sind. His counselors had for some time been urging upon him the danger lest Sher Shah, by holding Punjab, should shut the Mughals up in Kashmir and the result was that Humayun abandoned the whole design, and determined to join Hindal and Yadgar in their attempt on Sind.³¹ As history knows, Haider pushed into Kashmir and made a brilliant conquest of the country. Had the Emperor possessed sufficient perseverance to follow up the project, he would undoubtedly have been spared much suffering, and would probably have regained his kingdom at least as soon as was the case.

Humayun entered the territory of Shah Husain; he found the whole country laid waste so thoroughly that it was almost impossible for his army to find any sustenance. However, he encamped at Lohri (Rohri), in the delightful garden of Baburluka opposite the island fort of Bhakkar, and allowed his army to recover from the fatigues of the long march. Meanwhile he still hoped for friendly support on the part of the Sind Government and summoned the governor of the fort to admit him. Sultan Mahmud who knew Shah Husain well enough to consider that he might change his attitude at any moment, refused, indeed, to comply with the request in the absence of direct orders from his master, but sent 500 boatloads of grain and other victuals to the Emperor.³²

Gulbadan writes that grain became scarce and the soldiers killed their camels and horses to eat. It was therefore determined that Hindal and Yadgar should march further down the river, cross it and then proceed to Patar (Sehwan) and Darbila, respectively 50 and 20 Kos away from the imperial camp. Humayun, in sore distress, sent Tahir Sadr and Mir Samandar as ambassadors to Shah Husain, telling him frankly of the design upon Gujrat, and asking for his help and support. He was also informed that they were not going to interfere with his possessions. The ruler of Sind temporized; he received the envoys with every courtesy and offered the Emperor the revenues of the country between Kalikanda³³ and Betura for his support. But he declined to come himself and return a definite answer to the questions asked him, well knowing that for every month Humayun

³¹*Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 360.

³²Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 204.

³³William Erskine, *History of India under the first two Sovereigns, Babur and Humayun*, Vol. II, Longmans Green and Longman, 1854, p. 216.

lay idle he would be deprived of a considerable portion of his power of offensive action.³⁴

Large numbers of fugitives from all quarters had flocked to the imperial camp, and a greater scarcity than ever set in. Humayun had wasted much time in fruitless negotiations and had given Shah Husain ample opportunity to devastate Sehwan, which fertile district Hindal had long been wishful to attack. The younger prince was thoroughly dissatisfied with his brother's management of the campaign, and soon reports reached the ears of Humayun that Hindal at the investigation of Yadgar Nasir Mirza intended to go to Qandahar. This roused the Emperor from his lethargy and he left his garden to pay belated visits to the distant camps of Yadgar and Hindal with the object of keeping them in proper respect. It was while he was visiting Hindal, that he saw and admired Hamida, the daughter of Shaikh 'Ali Akbar Jami, Hindal's preceptor.³⁵ So attracted was he by her beauty that he wished to marry her forthwith, despite the fact that she was only fourteen years old. Hindal also greatly disliked the idea of the marriage,³⁶ and a quarrel was on the point of breaking out, but the objectors, at the suggestion of Dildar, seeing that Humayun's mind, for once in his life, was thoroughly made up, gave way at length. The young lady resisted, says Gulbadan, for forty days and the matter was discussed again and again. At last Hindal's mother advised her to agree and in September 1541, the Emperor took the astrolabe in his own hands, chose the auspicious hour and sent for Mir Abul Baqa to solemnize the marriage.³⁷

Immediately after his marriage, the Emperor returned to Bhakkar. But the army was in great distress through the shortness of supplies, and siege operations did not progress. Shortly, afterward, in September 1541, Humayun received certain intelligence that both Hindal and Yadgar contemplated leaving him and marching upon Qandahar in response to the invitations of Qarachah Khan, the governor, who promised them the sovereignty of that region. Hindal, whose relations with Humayun had been badly embittered after the latter's marriage, left for Qandahar with his forces, and sent instructions to Yadgar Nasir to join him on the road.³⁸ Humayun was greatly perturbed to hear of this defection. He immediately deputed Mir Abul Baqa, a holy man, to plead with

³⁴*Humayunnama*, p. 148.

³⁵*ibid.*, pp. 149, 237-39.

³⁶*ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

³⁷*ibid.*, p. 54.

³⁸*ibid.*, p. 151.

Yadgar to remain where he was and with the utmost difficulty the Mir succeeded in persuading the Mirza to abandon his project in return for lavish promises which were to be claimed when it should be in the Emperor's power to fulfill them.³⁹

4.3 Rajputs Relations

Matters dragged on in this miserable condition for some time, and Humayun began to despair. He talked openly of retiring altogether from the turmoil of the world and pending his declining years in the holy city of Mecca.⁴⁰ But, as fortune would have it, another opening for his activities suddenly presented itself. For some little time, the Emperor had received messages from Maldeo, the Rai of Marwar entreating him to come thither.

There can be no doubt that the Rajput Prince, in making this request, was not actuated by either pity or respect. Powerful and ambitious, determined to elevate Marwar to the same position of supremacy which Mewar had occupied in the days of Sangram Singh, it had struck him that if he could get the exiled Mughal Prince into his power, he might make use of him as a pawn in the game for supremacy which he hoped to play with Sher Shah. As may be imagined, his scheme was doomed to failure, not merely because he was content to reckon Sher Shah as an Afghan freebooter of the ordinary type, but because he altogether failed to estimate the very extensive resources of the revived Afghan Empire-resources, which for any continuous military enterprise, as distinct from a short campaign, so far outweighed his own that no rivalry was possible between them.⁴¹

Humayun, ignorant of the motives which underlay Maldeo's profuse of hospitality, was easily persuaded by his servants to leave Sind for Marwar. On May 7, 1542 he left Rohri, and marched up the left bank to Aru (a village in the district of Bhakkar) where he struck the Jesalmer caravan route. After the custom of the time, the army plundered such caravans as it met to secure a stock of the necessities of life, and then, much cheered, pushed on to Uccha by way of the show. The journey across the desert was very trying, and when they re-entered the country of Bakhshi Langa, they found that he would not allow any dealers to supply the Mughal army. At the end of June, however, they found ample supplies in a message from Maldeo, forwarding

³⁹ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 365.

⁴⁰ *ibid*, pp. 370-71

⁴¹ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 210

armour, and a camel's load of *asharfis*, with the greeting: "You are welcome; I give you Bikaner."⁴²

The royal camp advanced to Phaludi, where ample supplies were found. But Humayun was suspicious because the Rai had not come to meet him, and dispatched several messengers, some openly, others secretly, to ascertain Maldeo's intentions before venturing farther into the regions he controlled. In each case, the reports given were such as confirmed the Emperor's doubts, and one of the Rajput's librarians, Mulla Surkh, who had formerly been in the imperial service, sent a solemn warning that if Humayun was wise he would depart forthwith, because Maldeo intended to make him prisoner.⁴³

All authorities are unanimous in saying that the Emperor, while in Sind, had received repeated offers of help from Maldeo accompanied by protestations of goodwill and sincere loyalty. It may be conceded at once that in the beginning Maldeo's intentions were good; he meant well by the Emperor and wanted to help him. Gulbadan says that when the Emperor saw the helplessness of his position in Sind, he said, "very well: I shall go to Raja Maldeo." He would not have done so, had he known of the Raja's hostile intentions.⁴⁴

He is corroborated by Gulbadan who goes so far as to say that Mulla Surkh, a former librarian of Humayun, who had entered the service of Maldeo, had sent a warning that the Rajput chief intended to capture the Emperor and asked him not to trust him.⁴⁵ He further sent a message that an envoy had come to Maldeo from Sher Shah and brought a letter to the following effect: "By whatever means you know and can use, capture that king. If you will do this, I will give you Nagor and Alwar and whatever place you ask for."⁴⁶ Atkah Khan (Shamsuddin Ghaznavi) who had been sent to Maldeo's court to ascertain his intentions quietly escaped from there and on his return told the Emperor: "This is no time for standing."⁴⁷

The Emperor marched off instantly from which it may be concluded that he was convinced of Maldeo's intended treachery. He writes: "yet many people are of opinion that Maldeo was in the first instance well-intentioned and desirous of doing service, and

⁴²ibid., p. 154.

⁴³ibid.

⁴⁴ibid., p. 153.

⁴⁵ibid., p. 154.

⁴⁶ibid.

⁴⁷ibid.

that afterwards he was diverted from the right path either by learning the distressed condition of the troops and their small numbers, or by the false promises of Sher Khan by perceiving his ascendancy or he was withheld from help and service by his (Sher Khan's) threats."⁴⁸

The same authority wrote that Mir Samandar and Raimal Soni who had been sent to Maldeo had brought the news that whatever his professions, he was hostile. Abul Fazl is, however, wrong when he says, "The general opinion, however, is that from beginning to end his protestations of service and his sending petitions of obedience were all based upon hypocrisy and hostility."⁴⁹

Nizamuddin Ahmad expressed: "When Maldeo became aware of His Majesty's arrival, and learnt that the Emperor had very few adherents, he felt anxious because he did not see any power of resistance to Sher Shah. The latter had sent an envoy to Maldeo and made promises asking him to capture Humayun and make him over to him."⁵⁰ He speaks also of Mulla Surkh's warning and adds that since Nagor and its dependent country had come into the possession of Sher Shah, Maldeo feared him and this led to his changed intentions.

It is established beyond dispute that Maldeo gave no help to Humayun nor did he afford any encouragement either directly or through his officers. At first definitely friendly to the Emperor, he decided later to keep himself aloof for several reasons. The Emperor had a slender retinue and Maldeo must have seen that he would not be able to give him any help if an encounter with the Afghans took place.⁵¹

Maldeo did not mean treachery for he did not capture the Emperor, although it was quite easy for a man of his resources to do so. The Emperor had a small number of adherents and they, too, were in a highly distressing condition. As a Rajput who had sent offers of help, he must have considered it highly unchivalrous to seize the Emperor and to surrender him to his mortal enemy. There are instances in history when Rajput princes have refused to play such a part. There is the case of the hill chieftain of Kamayun who had given shelter to Khawas Khan the veteran general of Sher Shah. The Rajput pride and honour alike would have scorned to commit such foul treachery. All that Maldeo

⁴⁸ Akbarnama, Vol. I, p. 373.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, p. 53

⁵¹ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 214.

was anxious to secure was that Humayun should go away from his territory and this done he was satisfied. He judged it highly impolitic to help him in these circumstances.⁵²

It has been suggested that there is some connection between Maldeo's attitude towards Humayun and Sher Shah's invasion of Marwar in 1544. Maldeo's failure to capture Humayun is not mentioned as the *casus belli* by any of our authorities. Erskine suggests that the cause of the quarrel may have been the dispute between the two for the possession of towns and districts which had been recently conquered.⁵³

It may be asked why Humayun did not go to Maldeo as soon as he received his letters. The reason is clear. He judged it better to conquer Gujarat by making Sind the *point d'appui* of his operations. He hoped that his brother would not misbehave in such a desperate situation. He had never thought that Shah Husain Arghun would be so unfriendly and that matters would take such an unfortunate turn.⁵⁴

Humayun's little force, besides being destitute of proper equipment for a journey so toilsome, was besides distressed by the pursuit of troopers, consisting of 500 horses each sent by the Raja of Jaisalmer. The Mughals safely reached Satalmir, on the border of Jesalmir territory, and beat off a party of pursuers. The country was scoured for supplies, and several cows were killed for food, regardless of Hindu prejudice. Raja Lunkaran sent two messengers to protest that the Emperor had entered his country without invitation and that his men had killed cows-a practice forbidden in a Hindu country. The Emperor took counsel with his friends and forthwith ordered their confinement.⁵⁵

The conduct of the Mughal officers is presented in a highly odious light by the two authorities who write that one of them demanded his horse which the queen was riding and the other (no less a man than Tardi Beg) refused to lend a horse when asked to do so. No words can too strongly condemn the unchivalrous acts of these officers especially when we remember that the queen was in an advanced state of pregnancy.⁵⁶ At last the Emperor decided to part with his horse when another officer, on hearing of this, made his mother ride on a camel and gave her horse to the queen.

⁵²ibid, pp. 214-215

⁵³William Erskine, *History of India under the first two Sovereigns, Babur and Humayun*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 436.

⁵⁴Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 215.

⁵⁵*Humayunnama*, p. 154.

⁵⁶ibid., pp. 154-155

4.4 Humayun in Exile

Meanwhile Humayun, having ridden off without tarrying for provisions or equipment was overtaken by nightfall in the most wretched plight. Deep snow was on the ground, and there was neither fuel nor food. At last a fire was somehow lighted, and some horse flesh boiled in a helmet. Everyone, the Emperor himself included, roasted the sodden flesh over the flames for himself. Humayun never forgot the experience, and in telling the story used to say, "My very head was frozen with the intense cold." When morning came, the little party pushed on in the direction of Seistan. So wretched was their plight that the very Baluchi chief, Malik Khatti, who had been ordered by Kamran to arrest them, declined to carry out his orders and supplied the fugitives with all necessaries before honourably conducting them to the borders of his territory. With this assistance, Humayun managed to reach the country of Garmsir, the Governor of which, 'Abdul Hai by name, grudgingly gave some supplies in the absence of Kamran's prohibition to the contrary. But another local official, 'Askari's revenue collector, generously presented tents, baggage animals, and a considerable sum of money.⁵⁷

The Emperor, though for the moment encouraged by this, began to despair of his fortunes. For some time he seriously entertained the proposal of abandoning the world and living a religious life at Mecca or some other secluded place far from the madding crowd's strife, but the thought of his ancestral dominion and the devotion and service of his followers deterred him from following such a course. At last he resolved to try what was now plainly the last card left—an appeal to the Shah of Persia, with whose father his own father had intimate, though not always friendly relations. He, therefore, sent off Chupi Bahadur (Jai Bahadur in some texts) a trusty servant, with a letter to Shah Tahmasp, praying for his help and hospitality.⁵⁸

Humayun's advance to Herat was a triumphant procession. The whole route was lined with people and the principal officers of each city came out to meet him and escort him within the walls. He was hospitably received by Muhammad Khan Sharafuddin Ughli Taklu, Governor and Mir Diwan of Herat and tutor to Muhammad Mirza, eldest son of the Shah, who made the most magnificent arrangements for the Emperor's reception. He stayed in the Jahanara Bagh for forty days, saw all the sight and met all the notabilities. The Governor held a grand feast at which was present also Sabir Qaq, a

⁵⁷ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 224.

⁵⁸ *Akbarnama*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 414.

distinguished man among the literati of the time, who recited a quatrain for the occasion in praise of Humayun, in which he hinted at the ups and downs of life. From Herat, the Emperor proceeded to Mashed by way of Jam where he visited the tomb of Ahmad Jam, a holy saint and one of the ancestors of Hamidah Banu Begam.⁵⁹

Humayun tried to explain the last by saying that he did so because Hindustan was a country far larger in extent than Khorasan whereupon the Shah turned his face and ironically remarked: "What sort of control did you exercise over it that everybody has turned against you?" All these small causes of disagreement were carefully fomented by interested persons who meant to do injury to the Indian Emperor and were delighted at the prospect of his conversion to Shiaism. Most fortunately for himself, however, the distressed Emperor had three steady and eminent friends, the Shah's sister Sultanam Begam, the venerable Qazi Jahan and the physician Nuruddin, who constantly tried to establish friendly relations between the two monarchs. But their efforts were hampered by the Shah's evil designs. After some time he took counsel with his brother intending to make away with the Mughal Emperor. Some of our authorities say that Bahram Mirza cherished a grudge against Humayun and carefully fomented discord between the Shah and the Emperor but this statement is not supported by Jauhar.⁶⁰

By way of cementing the reconciliation, a grand feast was held, and the officers who had slandered Humayun were put in oubliettes. There they would have deservedly rotted, had it not been for the kindness of the man they had attempted to injure. Humayun begged them off as a personal favour, and released them without further question. Even the Shah was impressed by Humayun's magnanimity and forbearance. For three days the festivities lasted, and on the fourth day the sovereigns took formal leave of each other.⁶¹ Shah Tahmasp, having made up his mind to support Humayun, did not do the things by halves. He supplied 12,000 of his finest cavalry, under the nominal command of his third son, Mirza Murad, an infant.⁶²

Taking leave of the Shah, Humayun went to Tabrez, accompanied by Bahram Mirza. When the latter was about to depart, the Emperor presented him with a diamond ring and professed great friendship for him in these words: "Such is my friendship for

⁵⁹ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, pp. 227-228.

⁶⁰ *Muntakhab-ut- Tawarikh*, Vol. I, pp. 569-570

⁶¹ *Humayun nama*, p. 173.

⁶² *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 441.

you that I would willingly remain with you all my life, but my reputation is at stake, and obliges me to leave you.” This rebuts the statement of some authorities that the Mirza bore a grudge towards the Emperor.⁶³

The Emperor halted at Tabrez for five days and then proceeded towards Ardabil and remained there for a week, visiting the tombs of Shaikh Safi and Shah Ismail. Passing through Khardbi, Tarun and Sarkhab, he reached Qazwin where his entourage was encountered by the Persian monarch who sent a warning to Humayun by a certain Mehtar Ziya that he was rather slack and that he should march at least 12 *farsakhs* a day. The Emperor forthwith resumed his march towards Sabzwar and went to Mashed again to visit the shrine of Imam Ali and stayed for a week holding converse with divines like Maulana Jamshed and Mulla Harati.⁶⁴

At Sabzwar a daughter was born to Hamida Banu Begam.⁶⁵ The Emperor was detained by snowfall and when the weather cleared, he started and, proceeding by way of Rewat Tarq, Langur and Tubbas, reached Seistan while Hamidah and the heavy baggage came by another route.⁶⁶

A few general remarks on the unpleasant Persian episode in Humayun's life will hardly be out of place in a history dealing with the career of that unfortunate monarch. There is nothing in Persian histories about the ungenerous treatment meted out to him by the Shah. The modern historian of Persia, Sir John Malcolm, has written in terms of exaggerated praise of the liberality of the Shah and the noble qualities of the Persians.⁶⁷

Abul Fazl stated: “In the intervals between these glorious reasons of fortunate conjunctions a cloudiness of heart was created on both sides through the instigation of sundry strife-mongers, but the turbidity did not last long and was washed away by the waters of cleansing.”⁶⁸

Gulbadan Begam spoke effusively of the friendship which existed between the two monarchs: “The friendship and concord of these two high-placed pashas was as close as two nut-kernels in one shell. Great unanimity and good feeling ensued, so that during His Majesty's stay in that country, the Shah often went to his quarters, and on

⁶³ *Muntakhab-ut- Tawarikh*, Vol. I, pp. 569-570

⁶⁴ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, pp. 235-236.

⁶⁵ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 445, cited in: Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 236.

⁶⁶ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 236.

⁶⁷ *ibid*, pp. 236-237.

⁶⁸ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 439.

days when he did not, the Emperor went to his.”⁶⁹ Again she stated: “His Majesty’s time in Iraq was spent happily. In various ways the Shah showed good feeling and every day sent presents of rare and strange things.”⁷⁰

Erskine’s surmise that in after times Humayun’s pride perhaps prevented him from making an explicit avowal of his religious sentiments so as to please the bigoted Sunnis, who criticized him for what he had done in Persia, is unfounded.⁷¹ No such declaration was needed. Humayun judged it quite unnecessary and we find no opposition to his authority when he recovered his throne after defeating the Afghans. If he gave his outward assent to Shia beliefs in circumstances of unusual difficulty, he did so in order to get out of the clutches of a man who would have otherwise completely ruined him. In a far-away land among men swayed by religious fanaticism this was the only alternative that could be accepted by a man who still thought of his lost Empire and the safety of his adherents. That he incurred no moral or religious obligation is clear beyond the possibility of doubt.⁷²

4.5 Conquest of Qandahar

Abdul Hai, the Governor of the country, was now only too eager to support an Emperor who had some prospect of being able to protect his friends. He met Humayun, no longer poor and destitute, but in command of a fine army, near the border of Garmsir, and promptly put himself and the entire resources of his province at the Emperor’s disposal. As the Emperor pressed on, the strong fortress of Bist, the strategic centre of the district of Zamindawar fell and most of the garrison joined him.⁷³

Humayun pushed forward fast to Qandahar, hoping that along with that town he would succeed in recovering his infant son Akbar. In this hope he was disappointed, for Kamran’s first act on hearing of his brother’s advance was to send for the child to Kabul. It was in bitter rain and sleet, amid all the cold of an Afghan winter that Akbar journeyed from Qandahar to Kabul, where he was lodged with his great aunt Khanzadah Begam. Along with the Prince went his half-sister Bakhshi Banu Begam, Shamsuddin Ghaznavi, Maham Anagah, Jiji Anagah mother of Aziz Kokaltash and several other attendants. He

⁶⁹ *Humayunnama*, p. 169.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 174.

⁷¹ *Muntakhab-ut- Tawarikh*, Vol. I, pp. 604-605, cited in: Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, pp. 238-239.

⁷² Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 239.

⁷³ *Akbarnama* Vol. I, p. 457.

was well-cared for in Kabul but seems to have lacked the almost maternal love of Askari's wife, whose tender affection for the boy-prince is frequently commented upon by historians of the period.⁷⁴

As soon as the Emperor set foot on Kamran's territories, the air became thick with rumours, some favourable, others unfavourable, but nearly all baseless. The extent to which Kamran's popularity had declined was greatly exaggerated, as also the growing coolness of his relations with Askari, his Governor in Qandahar. It was said, indeed, that Askari was about to abandon his charge, and flee rather than face the just indignation of the Emperor. Encouraged by this intelligence, which was quite untrue, Humayun boldly pushed right up to the walls of the town on March 16, 1545. Unfortunately, the garrison was fully on the alert, and Humayun's troops, were moved down by gunfire, and thrown into confusion.⁷⁵

Humayun was anxious for many reasons to get the business in hand settled as soon as possible. Like his father before him, he found the Persians uncomfortable allies, bigoted, cruel, and ruthless in circumstances when Humayun's gentler disposition would have admitted the claims of mercy. Also he hoped that Kamran if a suitable opportunity were given him before too much damage and made him bitter, would remember his fraternal duty and offer reasonable terms. Accordingly, Bairam Khan was sent to Kabul to sound Kamran's intentions; armed with a letter from the Shah of Persia and a remonstrance from the Emperor. He was well received by the Prince, who was beginning to be alarmed about the fate of Qandahar, and contrived to convince Hindal, Yadgar, and Sulaiman, Ulugh Beg Mirza, all in various degrees of captivity, that Humayun was only too eager to overlook all past offences.⁷⁶

The siege at first went on slowly⁷⁷ and the Persian troops, accustomed to fiercely contested but brief engagements in the open field, grew so dispirited that they talked of retiring to their own country. They were surprised to find that the son of the illustrious Babur had not been able to rally round him the Chaghtai nobles and tribesmen of the Afghan region. They despaired of success and looked upon the whole enterprise as a wild goose chase. But Humayun displayed a rare courage, and his resolution stimulated

⁷⁴Humayunnama, p. 174.

⁷⁵AkbarNama Vol. I, p. 458.

⁷⁶ibid., Vol. I, p. 461.

⁷⁷Akbarnama, Vol. I, p. 463.

the soldiers not to desert their leader. With a steady and courageous advance under heavy fire, a siege battery was planted within a stone's throw of the walls. The dead at once restored the *morale* of the besiegers, and caused great dismay to the garrison. So much damage was done by its fire that Askari, alarmed, sent a petition through Mir Tahir, brother of Khwajah Dost Khawind and asked for a cessation of hostilities. The arrival of Khanzada Begum, with her secret instructions to hold out, completed Askari's dismay. The besiegers pressed their advantage, and it became apparent that nothing could prevent the speedy fall of the place. Kamran received information that led him to regard the place as lost, and he abandoned all pretense of relieving it.⁷⁸

Many of the notables of his court, among them Ulugh Beg Mirza, fled from Kabul and joined Humayun.⁷⁹ The chiefs of the tribes dwelling around Qandahar quickly saw how things stood and the Hazara chief, Dawa came with his tribesmen and offered homage. The contagion of disloyalty quickly spread in Kamran's camp, and letters came from the leading men in Kabul, indicating willingness to support the Emperor. Desertions began from the ranks of the garrison itself. The first to secede was Khwajah Khizr, Gulbadan's husband, who threw himself down from the fort and he was followed by Muayyad Beg, who let himself down by means of ropes. Among others who came to join the imperialists were Ismail Beg, one of Babur's officers, Abul Husain Beg, nephew of Qarachah Khan, Munim Beg, and Munawwar Beg, son of Nur Beg who had all escaped from the fortress. 'Askari now despaired alike of rescue and of resistance; he sent Khanzadah to negotiate a peace, and on September 3, 1545 appeared before Humayun as a suppliant, with a sword hung round his neck as symbol that his life was forfeit, accompanied by his principal nobles.⁸⁰

Humayun had thus scored a great point in the early days of his enterprise, but the capture of Qandahar exposed him to many difficulties. By treaty, it should belong to the Shah, and the Persians, somewhat unreasonably, expected that it would be handed over to them at once before the Emperor had regained any other important place. Humayun pointed out that he could not give up Qandahar until he had obtained some other fortress suitable to be used as a base of operations for his further campaigns against Kabul and Hindustan, and secondly that Qandahar was to be the price paid for Persian assistance in

⁷⁸Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, pp. 243-244.

⁷⁹*Akbarnama*, p. 465.

⁸⁰*Humayyunnama*, p. 175.

the reconquest of his kingdom. Until that enterprise was concluded, the price could not be paid. While the dispute was going on, jealousies arose between the Persian auxiliaries and Humayun's own soldiery, who had now joined him in considerable numbers. The Persians claimed the town, the treasure found therein and Askari Mirza, whom they desired to send to their master as a trophy, well knowing that a real live captive prince of Timur's blood would be much appreciated by him. Humayun, however, was firmness itself.⁸¹

Humayun's review of the troops alarmed the Persians who suspected that he might do to them what his father had done to Najam Beg. Their zeal was cooled; they felt no desire to assist him in his Kabul campaign and longed to return to their country without fulfilling the compact which their master had entered into with the emperor of Hindustan. They escorted their treasure to a distance of a twelve *krohs* from where it was carried to the Shah. The latter was much gratified to receive it and sent in return some nice presents which included a swift-footed mule for Humayun himself. The Emperor signified his appreciation of the gift by riding a few paces upon the back of the animal. He remained in the fort of Qandhar for three days and on the fourth day handed it over on the Persians and himself encamped in the Char Bagh, a garden laid out by Babur in a charming spot on the bank of the Arghandab. Here Askari's property, collected from all parts of the country, was laid before him, but he generously ordered it to be distributed among his soldiers.⁸²

Kamran, although he had begun to look upon Qandahar as lost, had expected the siege to last much longer, and he was greatly dismayed by the sudden fall of the town. As a precautionary measure he brought Akbar from Khanzadah's house and entrusted him to the care of his chief wife Muhatarima Khanam and threw into prison the young prince's foster father Shamsuddin Muhammad Ghaznavi called 'Atka khan'. While Kamran dismally consulted his counselors as to the most profitable attitude to assume towards his injured brother, who was now becoming a person most unpleasantly powerful, he had a further piece of bad news. The Badakshanis, ever faithful to their own dynasty, had grown disgusted with the foreign officials sent from Kabul to rule over them had risen as one man. They had surprised the great prison-fortress of Qilah Zafar, the key to the country, had seized all Kamran's officers, including Qasim Barlas and

⁸¹Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 245.

⁸²ibid., pp. 245-246.

were now demanding that their sovereign Sulaiman should be released, under threats of reprisals against the prisoners now in their hands. Kamran, agitated by this intelligence, and thrown off his guard by news of the disaster at Qandahar, gave way at once and released Sulaiman Mirza.⁸³

By and by, however, his pride again reasserted itself, and he attempted to intercept his late captive before he could cross the border. He was too late; Sulaiman, riding hard, came safely back to his own country before orders could be given to stop him, and was enthusiastically received by his own people, and shortly acquired undiminished power. The misfortunes which overtook Kamran encouraged Hindal and Yadgar to attempt an escape to Humayun, who had already contrived to assure them that all previous misdeeds would be overlooked and that they would find a warm welcome. It was arranged that, in order to secure as long as short as possible, Yadgar should escape first, and that, when his absence was noticed, Hindal should offer to ride after him, and use his powers of persuasion to induce him to return to Kabul. Both together would then make the best of their way to Qandahar. Abul Fazl writes that he promised to give Hindal one-third of all that he possessed or should acquire in future on condition that he would never serve from his loyalty to him.⁸⁴ The ingenious plan was completely successful. Kamran gladly fell into the trap and accepted Hindal's offer. Feeling confident that if Hindal did not succeed in persuading Yadgar by peaceable means, he would arrest him and bring him back by force.

The hatred that had spread between the Persians and the Chaghtais was now taken in serious proportions. The former had done his duty of mind; they denied obeying the Emperor's command, and their commandant Bidagh Khan for the moment ordered the Mughal troops outside the limits of the fort's gun. To avenge this abuse, Humayun who was not deterred by such things, 1700 horses of some traders were confiscated, who had taken them to the Persians. The traders waited for the Emperor to amend their complaint, but when he considers his affairs to be a normal size, he has to provide a bond to meet its value. The last violation between the last associates is clearly due to four major reasons. In the first place, the Chaghtai Amirs, particularly those who were in exile with Humayun, bitterly hated the Persians, who helped to remind them only of the difficulties that were with them. They were also angry with the pride of Iran's fighters,

⁸³ *Akbarnama* Vol. I, p. 469.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

who went about announcing that, but for their bravery and their master's donations, the King would still be a mendicant, unsheltered and indigent. The Persians denied going to the Chaghatais winter near the city, with the outcome that Humayun abruptly returned to Kamran with his men. He was consequently led to regard to the probabilities of holding Qandahar and discharging the Persians. His particular men at full volume insisted him to proceed with this move, and that is indicated, if he did not do so, his army will not be collected. But in the second place, men of SahTahmasp had been blameworthy of the entire campaign in the direction of the weak citizens of Qandahar, who murmured to the Chaghatais of their maltreatment, and requested for assistance.⁸⁵

The winter began and the imperialists had no residence of accommodations where they could leave their families in protection. The Emperor referred a message to Bidagh Khan to let know him of his urgent requirement and inquired him to set separately a small number of houses for himself and his men in Qandahar. Then the honoured general denied obeying with this request. Some of the royal officers run away to Kabul; 'Askari also made an effort to flight, but he was grasped and caught back and positioned in imprisonment. Have no hope grasped the royal army, and once again Humayun's men initiated to distrust the probability of his view sever receiving cheerful and more confident. The coming line of the act was deeply argued, and some of the Chaghatai nobles advised that Qandahar should be occupied at once and later reestablished to the Shah, but this was conflicting on the ground that, if the effort died, the consequences would be ruinous.⁸⁶

Unluckily for the Persians their child leader Murad, the symbol of right of Shah Tahmasp, abruptly expired, and this is frequently accounted the fourth reason for the outburst of exposed conflicts between the associates. The boy, however his command fully small, had clearly saved Humayun in thoughts of the very actual advantages bestowed by the Shah; but his demise appeared to take away the overwhelming intellect of duty which had formerly grasped Humayun back from obeying with the appeals of his supporters that he should take hold of the city.⁸⁷

A message was referred to Bidagh Khan that, as the ruler was going on the way to Kabul, he decided it wise to leave 'Askari in the fort in suitable supervision. The

⁸⁵Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 248.

⁸⁶ibid., p. 249.

⁸⁷ibid., p. 249.

Persian general agreed to this. It was determined to send parties under trustworthy chief officer to lie in trap adjacent the fort and go in it when an auspicious chance granted itself. Bairam Khan, Haji Muhammad, Ulugh Mirza, Muayyad Beg and numerous others were hired to carry out the idea. Haji Muhammad Khan Kuki, with two well-armed butlers, entered the gate along with a train of camels, which were taking sources to the barracks. On being interrogated, he replied that he was entering the fort by the commands of Bidagh Khan to safe 'Askari there. The safeguards at the gate opposed, but they were cut down, and the entrance was seized. In the meantime Bairam and others united and the fort fell into the hands of the Mughals.⁸⁸

Ishwari Prasad inscribed that, "More and more men poured into the town and after some desperate street fighting, in which isolated bodies of Persians were hunted to death like mad dogs by the townsfolk they had oppressed, the remnant of the garrison, under Bidagh Khan was driven to take refuge in the citadel. Thence, many men, including the commandant, made their escape in the night, although large numbers of Persians refused to take any part in the fighting, and eagerly ranged themselves on the side of Humayun when he entered the town. The Emperor was rapturously received by the townsfolk, and so terrible were the stories told of the cruelties practiced by certain Persian regiments, that Shah Tahmasp, when the matter came to his ears, found it best to believe the account officially put forward, namely, that Bidagh Khan had presumed to act contrary to the instructions of his master, and that thereupon Humayun had taken the liberty of superseding further orders from Herat."⁸⁹

Ishwari Prasad inscribed that, "With Qandahar in his hands, the Emperor now proceeded to parcel out the territory dependent on it among his most deserving followers. Ismail Beg was given the Zamindawar, Sher Afghan Beg received Qilat; Haidar Sultan got Shal: most of the Tiri district on the Halmand was given to 'Ulugh Mirza while the *pargana* of Lahu was given to Haji Muhammad Kuki, grades. Secure in the knowledge that Qandahar was behind him, Humayun now determined to bring to a settlement his long-standing account with Kamran at Kabul."⁹⁰

⁸⁸ibid, p. 250

⁸⁹ibid, p. 250

⁹⁰ibid.

4.6 The Struggle for Kabul

The hegemony of Qandahar made all the difference to the power of the Emperor. He now had a secure basis for their future.

In that manner, he decided to miss the mall period previously assaulting Kamran. Even though he was planning for the campaign opposed to Kabul, 'Askari, the harshness of whose custody look like at this time to have been certain peaceful, had the chance to effort a decampment. He accomplished in receiving away from his protectors but was at length taken by Shah Mirza and Khwajah Ambar Nazir, two generals who were delegated for the aim by the Emperor. Once more Humayun in submission to his father's expiring accusation secure his lifespan, even though he entrusted him to jail in the protection of Nadim Kokaltash.⁹¹

All getting prepared, the ruler began out on his procession to Kabul going Qandahar in charge of Bairam Khan. Hamida Bano Begum was also released into the fort. Fortunately at this time the Emperor obtained a large number of horses from some merchants who stated enthusiasm to take clearance when Hindustan was reorganized. Bonds were implemented to this influence and the leaders and generals sensed very comforted.⁹²

The ruler went onward and was headed to the fort of Tiri by Dawa Beg Hazara who happily proposed support and facility. It was here that Khanzada Begum expired after three days sickness and was buried at Ghilchak from where her deceased body was later detached to her father's grave in Kabul.⁹³ As Ghazni was not already in his hands, Humayun was incapable to use the military way via the mountains which linked Kabul with Qandahar, then was gratified in its place to adhere to the path of the River Halmund.⁹⁴

As the army gradually promoted closer and closer to Kabul, it was linked by numerous provincial heads of more or less consequence, who were ready to see the last of Kamran's Babus, who was assigned caretaker of Aq Sultan, Kamran's son-in-law, salaried respect to the ruler.⁹⁵

⁹¹Nadim Kokaltash is the husband of MahamAnaga, foster mother of Akbar. She was the mother of Adham Khan.

⁹²*Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 476.

⁹³*Humayunnama*, p. 175.

⁹⁴Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 252.

⁹⁵*Humayunnama*, pp. 31,178,196.

On the other hand men of Humayun, were encouraged by a classic soul, and were blushed with their current avail in dismissing the Persians from Qandahar. A succinct progress safeguard under Haji Muhammad Khan and Sharaf Khan assaulted Qasim Barlas and his men with the biggest determination, imposed serious harm on them, and removed them from their post. Mirza Hindal was at his own wish trusted with the authority of the vanguard. The Khimar Pass was in custody by the imperialists, and the means evaporated for the progress upon Kabul.⁹⁶

Kamran felt the failure of his lieutenant to keep the pass, prepared an influential army to resist his brother. Then Humayun, who had many friends in Kabul, projected this inflicting guard at its respectable value.⁹⁷

Kamran became very cautious in the end, and sent a party of Shaikhs into his brother's tent to discover out what relations they could obtain for him.⁹⁸ The ruler agreed to forgive his brother but definitely said that Kamran should come in individual, submit appropriate, and get more pardon. Kamran, who was perhaps aware of the revenge which was different from Humayun had the ranks been inverted, received fear, left his army to its destiny, and escaped towards the fort of Kabul. Gulbadan thus describes Kamran's perplexity: "The Mirza was left solitary and alone. 'No one remains near me, he thought, so he threw down and destroyed the door and the wall of the house of Babus which was near, and went softly, past the New Year's Garden and the tomb of Gulrukh Begum, dismissed his 12,000 troopers and went off.'⁹⁹

Humayun, since his camp was adjacent to Kamran, had initial notice of the battle of Mirza, and was capable to process immediately. He built no attempt to arrest his brother, but to win the favour of the people of Kabul, he turned his attention. He sent on a figure of men under a loyal officer named Babus to protect the city from loot and to reestablish sureness amongst the people. Qarachah Khan, the Governor, presented respect and requested the ruler to come in the citadel. On the 12th of Ramzan, 952 (September 19, 1545) he entered his kingdom, great bliss among the scenery.¹⁰⁰

The entire of Kabul greeted the ruler with the ultimate zeal. Every person had long been exhausted like of Kamran's plan and of his individual and was fervent to

⁹⁶ *Humayunnama*, p. 177.

⁹⁷ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 254.

⁹⁸ Erskine, *History of India under the first two Sovereigns, Babur and Humayun* Vol. II, p. 324.

⁹⁹ *Humayunnama*, p. 177, *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 479.

¹⁰⁰ *Humayunnama*, pp. 117, 179.

practice a variation. Behind the instance of the capital, the entire nation most gave in its submission. A common pardon was announced, and Humayun continued to the act of directing his new territories. The Government of Ghazni was bestowed upon Hindal, as mark and close that his earlier misbehaviour was ignored, and Zamindawar and Tirni were given to Ulugh Mirza. The Emperor's success was coronated by a superb ferial which he kept to persuade the circumcision of Akbar.¹⁰¹

A continuous round of celebrations brought high and low together to participate in these bliss. Wrestling competitions were held and the ruler himself entered the lists with Imam 'Ali Qurchi. All servants of the diadem were broadly rewarded and the celebrations were moved on for seventeen days. Gulbadan describes the scene thus: "... They decorated all the bazaars: Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and the Sultans and Amirs, decorated their quarters beautifully, and in Bega Begam's garden the Begams and ladies made theirs quite wonderful in a new fashion.

All the Sultans and Amirs brought gifts to the Audience Hall Garden. There were many elegant festivities and grand entertainments, and costly *Khilats* and head to foot dresses were bestowed. Peasants and preachers, the pious, the poor and the needy, noble and plebeian, low and high, everybody lived in peace and comfort, passing the 'days in merriment and the nights in talk.'¹⁰²

Consequently, having completed all safe in Kabul by carrying 'Askari with him, and offering orders for Yadgar, long under the death penalty, to be stifled, he marched out in the spring of 1546 to reclaim his provinces. A few numbers of Persian soldiers and diplomats accompanied with him, together with a certain associates of Shah Tahmasp's own bodyguard who had go with the embassy.¹⁰³

When the ruler goes across the mountains into the domain of Anderab, he found that Sulaiman had made a complete determination of stubborn opposition. The sovereign of Badakhshan had amassed a huge army of marvelous value, together with an ominous abrupt of the well-known Badakhshani archers, whose ability was amazing. They had made a sturdy position nearby Tirgiran on the way to the intruder and very carefully fortified his camp. There he confidently waited for the assault. Humayun, who openly

¹⁰¹ *Akbarnama* Vol. I, pp. 484-485.

¹⁰² *Humayunnama*, pp. 179-180.

¹⁰³ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 491.

say that it would be unsafe to leave Kabul with Kamran for a long time, realized the need to bring the expedition to a conclusion as soon as probable.¹⁰⁴

After recovering completely, Humayun built a straw hut in which he judged justice. It was here that he honoured Sher Afghan, the son of Kuch Beg, Kahmard, Zuhag and Bamian and on reaching Kabul, assured to add Ghorband to his estate. He grew so fast in health that he took part in hunting actions which were always a blissful pastime to him. Abul Fazl's statement that his presence in Badakhshan "wrought dismay in all Turan" is undoubtedly an overstatement.¹⁰⁵ The ruler had neither the time nor the means to involve in a fight with the Uzbegs while Kamran was still at large attempting to summon up Kabul.

Humayun's followers in Kabul inscribed to him advising an instant replace, before Kamran, with his famous brutal ruthlessness, should have occupied an act of very bad revenge on all who had helped his brother. It did not take long for the ruler to make up his mind. Immediately he was well enough to move, he made an alliance with Sulaiman Mirza, by which terms he retained his own provinces of Qunduz and Anderab and other Kabul territories, on the other hand, gave up the respite of his rights to their lawful owners.¹⁰⁶ At that time, leaving Hindal as governor of the recaptured districts, he ventured well to Kabul with the effects of his movement-he gave Sulaiman a lesson, and he had his property back.

The weather was winter and the journey much difficult. Humayun's soldiers were very worried about the destiny of their families who were in Kabul at the kindness of Kamran. It was only by the greatest individual efforts that he succeeded in preventing his men from looking different how troubles stood with their relationships. From Taliqan he advanced to Qunduz, where he was secularized by Hindal. He stayed there for a while, relaxing and joining his army. He was not late, for on February 1, 1547 he marched through the mountains to Kabul.¹⁰⁷

The weather was very tough now, and he needed all Humayun's resolve to inspire his men, they were eager to recapture Kabul, to withstand the deep snow. So was such a big lie, that men and horses had to be sent onward to push it down, lest the stuffed

¹⁰⁴Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 261.

¹⁰⁵*Akbarnama* Vol. I, p. 497.

¹⁰⁶*ibid.*, p. 504.

¹⁰⁷Thomas Patric Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1973, pp. 192-94.

animals get entangled badly. Under these conditions marching was very slow, but Humayun had high expectations that any advance in such season would surprise his brother.¹⁰⁸

As Humayun accessed near Kabul, he started learning about Kamran's latest campaigns. Humayun now came to know that his presence surprised the authorities. Not to oppose him, they victimized him for entering into the city. The royal Governor, Muhammad 'Ali Taghai was in prison as he was pleasing his comfort in a hot bath, brought in advance Kamran in a state of inebriation, and promptly sabred. Paralyzed by the doubt about the Emperor's existence, and overwhelmed by the speed of the Mirza's antics, Humayun's companions and officers could not conflict.¹⁰⁹

Abul Fazl composed that it was through the disloyalty of Pahlawan, the gatekeeper at the gate, that Kamran was permitted to enter the city.¹¹⁰ Jauhar and Gulbadan relate an alternate story and it shows up from their records that the imperialists were shocked. Gulbadan portrays the scene along these lines: "... It was morning; the Kabulis were off their guard; the gates had been opened in the old way, and water carriers and grass cutters were growing in and out, and the Mirza passed into the fort with all these common people. He at once killed his uncle Muhammad 'Ali Taghai who was in the hot bath. He alighted at the college of Mulla 'Abdul Khaliq."¹¹¹

Kamran progressed towards the stronghold. Naukar whom the Emperor had posted at the door of the harem was scared to the point that he got away in the camouflage of a lady.¹¹² The gate-keeper was seized by the Mirza's men and tossed into jail. At the point when he entered the stronghold and took up his habitation; Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan Atkah presented to him the young Prince Akbar who was treated with graciousness yet ordered to be trusted to his own men.

As the soldiers of the Badakhshan expeditionary power had anticipated, Kamran praised his triumph by a disgusting orgy of revenge worthless of a scion of Babur's stock against Humayun's devotees. He slew, he blinded, he ruined, he detained, until he had

¹⁰⁸Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, pp. 265-66.

¹⁰⁹ibid, p. 266

¹¹⁰*Akbarnama* Vol. I, p. 501.

¹¹¹Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, pp. 266-67.

¹¹²*Humayunnama*, p. 181.

fulfilled himself that his brother's supporters were presently practically cowed. Gulbadan composed:-

“The Mirza's people went into the *Bala-i-Hissar*, and plundered and destroyed innumerable things belonging to the harem, and they made a settlement for them in Mirza Kamran's Court (Sarkar). He put the great Begams into Mirza 'Askari's house and there he encircled a room with bricks and plaster and dung cakes, and used to give the ladies food and water from over the walls.

He behaved very ill indeed to the wives and families of the officers, who had left him for the Emperor, ransacking and plundering all their houses and putting each family in somebody's custody.”¹¹³

As Humayun proceeded, he found that Kamran had been very busy making preparations for the annihilation of the military coming back from Badakhshan. The Adbara despoil, through which the Emperor must pass, was emphatically held by a confided officer of Kamran named Sher Ali.¹¹⁴

Humayun pushed on into the great despoil and Sher Ali was checked by Hindal and Qarachah Khan yet his things train was seriously cut up in an abrupt amazement assault coordinated by the conflicting general. Worst of all, the closer the Emperor moved toward Kabul, the more did uneasiness for their families paralyze the action of his men.¹¹⁵

When finally he arrived at Chari Karan and the stories of a portion of Kamran's cruelties were spread abroad, huge numbers of Humayun's disciples deserted him, with the expectation that by offering a brief submission to Kamran they could keep their dependents from harassment. Among these were Iskandar Sultan and Sanjar Barlas, who was a nephew (sister's son) of Babur. So genuine did this become, finally, it was an extremely suspicious inquiry whether there were sufficient men left to him to make dynamic activities against Kabul a probability.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ *Humayunnama*, p. 181.

¹¹⁴ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 268.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 268.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*

The Emperor summoned a council to think about the issue. His Begs were powerfully of the view that the best course walks past Kabul to Bori and Khwajah Pashta,¹¹⁷ and there stay until he had gathered recruits to fill the holes in his drained positions. Be that as it may, Humayun was never again a man to adjourn eagerly to bad guidance. He saw at once the enormous moral advantage which Kamran would get from his brother's failure to assault him at once. Regardless of the odds against him, he resolved to receive the sound arrangement of striking hard and rapidly immediately.

Humayun, who was personally familiar with the nation, understood the troubles of the position and laid his arrangements with significant ability. It was positioned that Hindal should make a frontal assault, upheld by the Emperor and Qarachah Khan, while Haji Muhammad Beg and a few picked men were to work round by the Minar pass, an irksome and unfrequented course, to take the Kabulis on the flank. This arrangement was effectively completed. Hindal, as he was progressing towards Dih Afghanan was assaulted by the adversary in hugely prevalent numbers, however, held his ground with the most extreme chivalry. The battling was extremely hot, and a few of his men started to escape, regardless of all his endeavours. Humayun, who was progressing rapidly to help of his brother, was going to charge at the leader of the hold when Qarachah Khan asked leave to lead on his own troops. The Khan's charge was nobly driven and very much pushed home. It demonstrated the defining moment of the fight, for Sher Afghan, the conflicting general, was sought out, unhorsed and captured by the brave leader.¹¹⁸

Nearly simultaneously, Haji Muhammad Khan and the flanking party, which were, finally, worked into position, charged down upon the Kabulis, with the goal that they broke and fled. Humayun now once again put into practice the two lessons he had learned in his misfortunes, in particular, never to pardon a conspirator, and never to lose the fruits of triumph by lethargy. Sher Afghan for all his courageous bearing was executed on the spot as a notice to other people, and the Emperor went ahead to Kabul, by the Khiyaban course, with the most extreme speed. He seized the external fortresses without trouble and was heartily invited by townsfolk. Mirza Khizr Khan and the Arghun troops fled and looked for shelter among the Hazaras and Sher Ali confused and humiliated, resigned into the town. In the bastion, Kamran still held out doughtily with a

¹¹⁷Thornton, *Gazetteer of the Countries Adjacent on the North-West*, Asian Educational Services, London, 1844, (reprint, New Delhi, 1994), pp.115, 381, cited in: Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p.268.

¹¹⁸*Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 506.

strong fort, and various vulnerable prisoners, the spouses, and offspring of a some of Humayun's chief Begs.¹¹⁹

The Emperor arranged to push the attack with power. He built up his headquarters on the Eagle's slope, Koh Uqabain ignoring the fortifications, and initiated an assault. Despite everything he had too barely any soldiers to make an extremely viable barricade, and Kamran's men made successive sallies which were just resisted because of frantic battling. It was during one of these that Haji Muhammad Khan was assaulted by Sher Ali and got a genuine injury in his right arm. The gossip got abroad that he was dead whereupon the Emperor asked him that he ride to the channels to dissipate the doubts of the adversary.¹²⁰

After some frantic battling, the battalion had to resign in disorder inside their dividers; they owed their frustration to a great extent to the exceptional unfaltering quality of a body of Humayun's matchlock-men, who dispensed volley after volley into their positions, delivering terrified defeat, lastly causing a usual fright by the correctness of their fire. Sher Ali, very unfit to rejoin his companions, withdrew in depression to Ghazni. Humayun, be that as it may, did not expect enabling him to escape so softly. Like his father, before him, the Emperor saw with particular disapproval any endeavour to burglarize vendours and private people who had given no reason for offense. He resolved to visit his rage upon Kamran's lieutenant.¹²¹

A strong body of troops under Khizr Khwajah Khan. Musahib Beg and Ismail Beg Duldai were dispatched in a quest for Sher Ali, who was surpassed and completely directed at the Sajawand pass. All the goods which could be found was unreservedly reestablished to the harmed merchants, and all the detainees immediately hanged as looters and conspirators. These two demonstrations, unequivocally conversely with one another, unmistakably show that war and incident had not blunted his feeling of equity yet had constrained him to modify his strategies in managing insurgents and adversaries.¹²²

When Kamran got the news about this, He was expected to cruel and selfish nature. He held back badly to the unfortunate hostages who were at his mercy. The

¹¹⁹ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, pp. 269-270.

¹²⁰ *Akbarnama* Vol. I, pp. 507-508.

¹²¹ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 271.

¹²² *ibid.*

spouse of the Emperor's confided in officer Babus Khan was given over to the Bazar masses to be shamed, and his three sons matured seven, five and three separately were hung from the walls, depicted to the fire of the besiegers.¹²³

Muhammad Qasim's wife was suspended by breasts at the iron gate and treated with equal cruelty to the wives and children of other officers. Sardar Beg, son of Qarachah Khan, and Khuda Dost, son of Musahib Beg, were hung from the walls and the Mirza took steps to execute them if the attack was not relinquished. Yet, these unafraid warriors would not be cowed by these inhuman threats and stayed firm in their faithfulness to their master. Indeed, even the child Akbar, Kamran's very own nephew, was put upon the ramparts. Concerning this occurrence, numerous legends have emerged, however, the calm truth is by all accounts as pursues. The fire of the besiegers had been progressively becoming more blazing and more blazing, and finally, Mirza Kamran himself, as he was going up to the roof of the fortification to examine the temperaments of the foe, had a very narrow flee from being hit by a shot pointed straightforwardly at him. In an attack of enthusiasm gave the order about Akbar: "Bring him and put him in front." Humayun got quick notice of the order and redirected the artillery fire away from the spot where Akbar and Kamran were standing. It does not show that the child was ever, in reality, under fire.¹²⁴

Humayun, careful as ever of Babur's disappearing injunction, was arranged to pardon him, however, Kamran dreaded the retribution of the men whose families he had harmed and lost his nerve, made plans to leave the stronghold.¹²⁵

As indicated by Abul Fazal the Mughal officers like Prince Hindal, Qarachah Khan, Musahib Beg and other people who "had not freely quaffed the sweet waters of loyalty" did not endorse of Kamran's new move and furtively reached out to him that give up would prompt sure destroy. They were principally moved by self-interest in taking such a step. It would be too much to suggest that they accepted more intrigue and struggle in the royal court with the arrival of Kamran. The more probable reason seems to be that he felt that Mirza's subjugation would reduce his importance and Humayun would be a formidable autocrat by ridding his dangerous rival, doing nothing to advise or support him. Again, his loyalty was also not sufficiently strong, as evoked by the later

¹²³ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 510.

¹²⁴ *Humayunnama*, pp. 183-84.

¹²⁵ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 273.

conduct of Quraicha Khan. The Mirza was informed that the royal powers had impressively expanded and as submission would be full of the immediate results to himself, they would help him in affecting his departure silently from the fortress.¹²⁶

As well, he turned out by the Delhi gate on the night of April 27, 1547, and arrived at the place which had been indicated out him by the Mughal officers.

On entering Kabul Humayun ordered the soldiers to loot the city for one entire night as a discipline to the residents for permitting Kamran and his team to come in. Certain divines were as well executed for countenancing Kamran's treasonable structures. Qarachah Khan was assigned to go in the quest for the Mirza and to manage him in a joint effort with Sulaiman and Hindal. He proceeded against the fort of Ghur which he captured subsequent to vanquishing Sher Ali who set up a chivalrous opposition. Unable to hold the ground, he fled and took the battalion alongside him. It was during his stay at Kabul that the Emperor put the Prince school on 20th November 1547, his most punctual guide being Mulla Zadah Mulla Asamuddin Ibrahim, son of Hisamuddin, who is portrayed by Bayazid as "a man of great learning unequalled in Samarqand." The Prince was as of now five years, one month, and five days old.¹²⁷

4.7 Re-establishment of the Mughal Power in India

The status of Hindustan on the eve of Humayun's restoration, already on Salim Shah's death, the Mughal Prince had started to act. All through the finish of 1553 and the start of 1554 he was working diligently in Kabul gathering supplies and preparing his military for the campaign against Hindustan. Finally, everything was prepared. Sadly right then and there specific Amirs who encompassed the Emperor at Kabul made allegations of treachery against Bairam as of now still in distant Qandahar. Abul Fazl unmistakably stated: "His Majesty determined to go to Qandahar rather than to India as several strife-mongers had made false representations about Bairam Khan."¹²⁸

On the recapture of Hindustan, he got Akbar, his eldest son with him to Delhi, put him under the tutorship of the great Khan, Bairam Khan.

Humayun had seized Qandahar from the Persians and forced Bidagh Khan to betake himself to Persia where his master acknowledged the official report sent by

¹²⁶ *Humayunnama*, p. 184.

¹²⁷ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 274.

¹²⁸ *Akbarnama* Vol. I, p. 610.

Humayun about the high-handedness of the Persian troopers. As per the *Ahsan-ul-tawarikh* the Persians following four days had walked off to their nation notwithstanding the Shah's order that they ought to stay there to help Humayun in securing Kabul.¹²⁹ The fortification was made over to Bairam Khan, a Shia nobleman and a dependent of the Shah. This was what Erskine called a “double relation” enough to make challenges for the two sovereigns.¹³⁰

The position was not clear; Humayun most likely did not give out that he had held onto the fortification for himself and as Erskine properly sees to placate the Shah- for the capture of the stronghold amounted to the infringement of the settlement between the two rulers he imagined that he held it just for a period with the suggestion that eventually it would be made over to his companion and partner. Bayazid who had the means for realizing reality composes that unmistakably eventually Qandahar was to go under the control of the Qazal bashes and that his Majesty had as well told the Shah that he did not plan to hold Qandahar for himself.¹³¹ Humayun had acted under an amazing need. He was advised by his generals that the capture of Qandahar was necessary to conquer Kabul and this had driven him to hold onto the stronghold by a *coup d'etat*..

There is no reason to believe that there was any basis beyond the natural jealousy of these allegations which was felt by the representatives of the old Chagatai families on the promotion above their heads who were a man of new blood and from Shia to boot. But they were of sufficient weight that Humayun was asked to march with his army in the direction of Qandahar to reassure him with his eyes that his sub-soldier was not playing him a liar. To launch a campaign against Hindustan, leaving a servant of dubious allegiance in Qandahar would be very dangerous. So toward the start of the cold climate of 1554, having put Kabul accountable for 'Ali Quli Khan Anderabi, Humayun continued to Qandahar to deal with Bairam.¹³²

The Emperor stayed all the winter of 1554 as Bairam's visitor in Qandahar and afterward set off again to Kabul following three months to put the completing contacts to his arrangements for the Indian battle. Apparently, as he needed his services, he thought of keeping Bairam in Qandahar. The post was offered to Munim Khan, however the last

¹²⁹ibid, p. 473

¹³⁰William Erskine, *History of India under the first two Sovereigns, Babur and Humayun* Vol. II, p. 507.

¹³¹ *Akbarnama* Vol. I, p. 612.

¹³² *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 610.

brought up the inexpediency of such a step when his ears had been harmed against the Shia nobleman.¹³³

Also, it was very rude, urging the loyal minister to make only one change on the eve of the invasion of Hindustan. The counsel was acknowledged and the Emperor was at last convinced to permit Bairam to come back to Kabul subsequent to making satisfactory arrangements for the organization of Qandahar. Bairam was confirmed in his accuse of directions to join the Emperor as fast as possible under the circumstances. Khwajah Muazzam was denied of Zamindawar which was given upon Bahadur Khan Sistan, brother of Ali Quli Khan.¹³⁴ In this way no pains was shown to root out any disagreement at once, and Wali Beg and Haji Muhammad Sistani, who were constantly struggling, were kept under watch and charged for royal accession. Together they were taken to Kabul.

That moment came in the most understanding. All the battling men of the area were in Delhi with Sultan Sikandar, who had not yet been able to strengthen his position. Consequently, there was for quite a while no systematized opposition at all to the section of the Mughal powers. The sturdy advance guard authorized by men like Bairam Khan, Khizr Khwajah Khan, Sikandar Khan, Tardi Beg Sultan and Lal Beg hurried on rapidly and wherever found the nation at their kindness. The strong new fort, Rohtas, which Sher Shah had constructed for simply such a crisis like this, was discarded, without an endeavor at safeguard by Tatar Khan Kashi, Sikandar Shah's Governor of Northern Punjab. Adam Gakkar who had been friendly to the royal family and had rendered extraordinary support of Humayun was welcome to come yet he made what Abul Fazl calls "landholder-like excuses", and encouraged that he was stopped from joining the imperialists by the agreement which he had been obliged to go into with Sikandar Shah who had taken his son Lashkari as a prisoner for his excellent behaviour.¹³⁵

The Afghans were distracted to this extent by this defeat that Abdul Qadir Badayuni composed that "so great was the terror inspired by the Mughals that thousands upon thousands of Afghan would flee at the sight of ten of the large-turbaned horsemen (even though they were Lahoris) and never looked behind them." When Bairam Khan

¹³³ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 340.

¹³⁴ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 612; cited in: Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 340.

¹³⁵ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 622.

progressed close Hariyana, Nasib Khan Afghan, offered a weak opposition and his men fled from the field, leaving their goods to be captured by the adversary.¹³⁶

The women and children whom the Afghans had abandoned were not detained by Humayun's pledge and were securely accompanied to Nasib's camp. After this triumph, the imperialists continued to Jalandhar, however, the Afghans fled without making even a demonstration of resistance and prevailing with regards to bearing away their goods and belongings owing to the abandonments that won in the Mughal camp at the time.¹³⁷

The reason for the dispute was a difference of opinion that prevailed over the strategy to deal effectively with the adversary. Tardi Beg Khan had faith in the adequacy of direct pursuit and desired to press hard upon the Afghans to propel them to battle. Bairam thought otherwise and wanted to avoid action. The frustrated general asked Baltu Khan to use his good offices with Bairam to obtain the necessary permission, but when the latter went to carry out his mission, he was insulted by the Khwajah Muazzam Sultan and wounded in the arm. That the Mughal soldiers beat the insincerity and disregard the unity of action even in such a disaster, goes to show the inequality with which they enter into personal quarrels, and in this case strengthen the head of the royal Amirs. There was nothing less than a royal rebellion to do.¹³⁸

Bairam stayed in Jalandhar and circulated his soldiers over the adjacent tracts of land, charging them to hold their situations with determination. Sikandar Uzbeg who was sent to Machhiwara on the Sutlej pushed further and occupied Sirhind. He was urged to do as such by the absence of Afghan resistance. In any case, soon fortifications from Delhi arrived under Tahar Khan, Haibat Khan, Nasib Khan, Mubarak Khan, and others. These were sent by Sikandar Sur who had crushed Ibrahim and procured ownership of Delhi. He was connected in a challenge with 'Adali, another adversary, and his troubles were worsened by the coming of Humayun on the Punjab frontier.¹³⁹

The Afghans were scared to the point that in spite of their numerical supremacy they started over consider devising plans of saving their wives and children and if Badauni is to be accepted "each one occupied himself with his own necessities." They felt persuaded of the difficulty of withstanding the Mughal beginning. This panicky

¹³⁶ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 344.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 344-345.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 345

¹³⁹ *ibid.*

condition of the Afghans accounts for the miserable defeat which they maintained subsequently. Sikandar partitioned his military into two sections: with the principle body, he proceeded with his activities against 'Adali and the rest of the power he dispatched to Tatar Khan Kashi who proceedd upon Sirhind at the head of 30,000 men.¹⁴⁰

The Mughal powers moved from Jalandhar towards Machhiwara on the Sutlej. To the incidental armed force of Humayun which contained commanders of various nationalities-Bairam Khan, a Persian Turk, Khizr Khan Hazara, an Afghan, Tardi Beg, a central Asian Turk and Sikandar Khan, an Uzbek- unity of plan was something foreign and soon a discussion resulted with regards to the following step that should have been taken.¹⁴¹

When the military had crossed, Bairam saw that there was no opportunity to lose. The Afghans were getting ready to cross the river, in any case, when they learned of the littleness of the Mughal armed force, they chose to give a fight.¹⁴² The royal armed force was systematized in battle array. The right was instructed by Khizr Khan Hazara, the left by Tardi Beg Khan, the van by Sikandar Khan Uzbek, while Bairam Khan himself occupied the centre.

The battle began towards sunset, near a village of bowed huts, and arrows were released from both sides. At the point when it got dim, the Afghans took cover behind the town and a fire broke out and immediately spread "producing light equal to that of a thousand lamps." It happened that the Afghans had lit a fire to have a clear view on the adversary; however, the impact was the exact inverse.¹⁴³

The Mughals could now see the Afghans plainly in the glare of the fire and exposed them to an unending shower of arrows. The Afghans were stopped by darkness from aiming at the Mughals and however they held the ground tenaciously for quite a while, they were finally overpowered and started to escape from the field of fight.¹⁴⁴

The quantity of the Mughals killed was not enormous; however, the foe endured heavy losses. Their elephants, horses and treasure fell under the control of the Mughals. A total triumph was acquired and the following day Bairam walked to Sirhind which he

¹⁴⁰ibid.

¹⁴¹ibid, p. 346

¹⁴²*Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 626.

¹⁴³ibid., p. 626.

¹⁴⁴Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 347.

occupied without meeting opposition and was followed up in the back by Ali Quli at the leader of substantial power. The entire of the Punjab, Sirhind, and Hissar Firozah came into his own and furthermore a portion of the dependencies of Delhi.¹⁴⁵

Sultan Sikandar, now seriously concerned, gathered all his strength and proceeded to meet the invaders. He had as of now under his direction eighty thousand horses and was well outfitted with munitions to engage in battle with the Mughals who as indicated by Jauhar numbered just seven or eight thousand.¹⁴⁶

Distressed by the greater numbers of the adversary, Bairam Khan sent the expresses to Lahore and informed the emperor of the formidable power of the Afghan army and asked him either to join promptly or enable them to come back to him with the end goal of endeavouring to crush the adversary.¹⁴⁷

Humayun who had of late experienced colic (*Qolanj*) and had gotten exceptionally feeble, without a moment's delay dispatched Akbar towards Sirhind and sent word to the Khan-i-Khanan that he would pursue himself when he had recovered adequate power to allow him to embark on the journey. Rapidly he made arrangements of action for the administration of Lahore; the offices of *amin* and *faujdar* were presented upon Shah Sultan and Babus Khan separately; Farhad Khan was assigned as *Hakim* of the Punjab and Tatar Khan *alias* Muhammad Tahir as *Diwan* of Lahore and Jauhar was trusted with the treasurership (*khazanchi*) of the Punjab and Multan.¹⁴⁸

When Humayun came to Sirhind on the night of Tuesday the 28th of May, 1555, the royal force had expanded to 5000 as per Jauhar and almost 10,000 as indicated by Bayazid. It was clearly an irregular battle and Sikandar communicated astonishment at the foolishness of the imperialists. The Emperor's presence provided a lot of encouragement and kept his ground firmly in spite of heavy odds against them. The Afghans built a fortified camp after the way brought into the design by Sher Shah and planted them to block the way to Delhi. The Mughals, then again, made them secure in the town of Sirhind. For a month and a half, neither one of the parties would move in

¹⁴⁵ *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, p. 82.

¹⁴⁶ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 627.

¹⁴⁷ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 348.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid*, p. 348

spite of the fact that there were numerous conflicts wherein the Mughals had chosen an advantage.¹⁴⁹

On the 2nd Shaban A.H. 692, i.e., Thursday, June 22, 1555, the important battle occurred. Bairam's division which was ahead of time needed to withstand the full wrath of the foe's assault for quite a while, it is organized that while he held them in front. Tardi Beg and Abul Ma'ali should assault them in flank and back. The Afghans, as Badauni stated, "Behaved with due bravery and valour" and the horses of the Iranis started to take off at the beginning of their insane elephants.¹⁵⁰

The whole power of Sikandar was scattered with awful misfortune and the interest was so pushed by the victors that the vanquished had no time or chance to unite. They were butchered in huge numbers. The giant booty fell into the hands of the Mughals-elephants and belongings and to celebrate his triumph Bairam Khan ordered a tower of skulls to be raised and named it Sar-i-Manzil. Sikandar fled from the field and took asylum in the Sawalik hills.¹⁵¹

The battle of Sirhind, similar to the other decisive battles in Indian history seriously changed the political situation. The Afghans were beaten unfortunately and were practically thrown out of Punjab. The achievement of the Mughals was primarily because of superior generalship, better military strategies, and promptness of movement. Although numerically intrinsic to their opponents, they were successful in abbreviating them mainly due to their strategic skills, superior organization and discipline. They were united in their purpose and devoted to the Emperor, who provided understanding with the tragic experiences of life, very strongly gaining the will and power of quick decision.¹⁵²

The Afghans were no longer the ones who were in Sher Shah's time. They had dispersed their energies in common fights and their leaders were no counterpart for attempted officers like Bairam Khan, Tardi Beg, 'Abdullah Khan Uzbek and other people who completely got a handle on the powerless purposes of the foe and predicted the effectiveness of rapid action. The position which they had taken up before the fight was not determined to proceed their attention. The fire which broke out on the eve of the fight

¹⁴⁹ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 627.

¹⁵⁰ Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 349.

¹⁵¹ *ibid*, p. 350

¹⁵² Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 350.

aggravated their arrangement and what they considered it as an advantage for themselves that they had been turned into a serious obstacle. In the darkness of the night, they could not intend their missiles adequately at the Mughals and were baffled by the rage of their abrupt assault. Sikandar could get no assistance from his compatriots in Hindustan.¹⁵³

The Afghans made a grave mistake in leaving the seat of the Empire defenseless in such a crisis and did nothing to protect the route from Punjab to Delhi. The outcome was that Sikandar Uzbeg effected a simple entry into the heart of the Empire and started to unite his situation without encountering any battle. The Afghans had exploded arrogantly; the ruin of their empire was imminent and as time went on to show that Sirhind proved to be the proponent of Panipat (1556).¹⁵⁴

The Mughals were reestablished to Hindustan. Extraordinary things lay in the womb of the upcoming-political unanimity, administrative uniformity, a new orientation of royal policy and a bold and original essay in the government of people divided by caste and religion. From the turmoil and anarchism of the later Afghan system, we turn with help to the productive statesmanship of Humayun's successor.¹⁵⁵

The victory not only led to the conquest of the whole of Punjab, but also prevented the spread of a power that might have obstructed the way to Delhi.¹⁵⁶

The destruction of Sikandar involved the fall of the Afghan government both in Punjab and in the two capitals of Delhi and Agra. Subsequently, in the wake of making all arrangements for securing the line of contacts against any neighbouring revolt that may break out in Punjab, the Mughals had nothing to do but to progress at their relaxation and take up the two capitals.¹⁵⁷

4.8 Ending Days of Humayun

Humayun had no uncertainty declared himself ruler however he was still a long way from being the genuine Emperor of Hindustan. His realm was just ostensible and he was encircled on all sides by foes.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ibid.

¹⁵⁴ibid, pp. 350-351

¹⁵⁵ibid, p. 351

¹⁵⁶ibid.

¹⁵⁷ibid, p. 352

¹⁵⁸Rama Shankar Avasthy, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, p. 487.

In the west Sultan Sikandar Shah was warning Punjab from the Siwalik hills to which he had fled; in the south, Ibrahim was offering his time in Biyana and was acutely smarting under the loss of Delhi and Agra, while in the east and southeast Muhammad Shah Adil Sur who held Agra, Chunar, and their appurtenances in his ownership were similar influenced by a comparative want. Also, in the far elimination province of Bengal, Muhammad Shah Sur was becoming yet more restive than others to achieve ownership of the two capital cities of northern India.¹⁵⁹

As Abul Ma'ali was held in regard by his father, Akbar received him with courtesy and pointed to his seat at the gathering of Mughal Amirs and nobles, who were invited to dinner. A different table cloth was spread for the Saiyyad-Zadah which enormously hurt his pride. To a man of Abul Ma'ali's egotistical nature, the embarrassment was terrible. On returning home he sent a message to the prince reminding him of the affair in which he had raised the Emperor and impudence to reveal him that on the event of the *Qamargha* (imperial chase) in Juishahi, he sat next to the Emperor and ate off a similar plate with him, while the available Prince was not all that favoured. He communicated his astonishment at the Prince's conduct and perhaps expected some revises for the humiliation that was appeared to him.¹⁶⁰

By this overbearing conduct Akbar was put to his courage; he informed him through Haji Muhammad Sistani that a differentiation must be drawn between the laws of the state and the laws of private love and to rather derisively included that his relations with him were not equivalent to with the Emperor. Abul Ma'ali was profoundly embarrassed; however, he appears to have carefully pocketed the affront.¹⁶¹ Not long after the Prince's military started to walk and continued to manage Sikandar who had again fled into the hills and encamped his forces close to the fortress of Mankot.

When Humayun started the last activities of his various life, while a little under 50 years old, He was old now, exhausted by hardship, stress, and extravagance in opium. Yet, as his body weakened, so his mind became stronger and clearer, his character increasingly decided. We have just perceived how, in his organization of the undertakings of Kabul, just as in the management of the Hindustan expedition, he showed qualities of energy and carefulness which present an incredible differentiation to

¹⁵⁹ibid.

¹⁶⁰ibid., p. 358.

¹⁶¹*Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 662.

his conduct in India. If ever a man unfortunately learned knowledge, without simultaneously learning resentment and unkindness, that man was positively Humayun.¹⁶²

The Emperor must not be happy to sit in Delhi in simplicity and pride yet should make standard circuits or visits, going from territory to territory, keeping himself in contact with nearby conditions, and directing the work of the local governments. Thusly, not exclusively would the central and local administrations be empowered to work in agreement, yet moreover, both the viceroys and the lower authorities of the provincial governments would be kept in appropriate subjection to the Emperor, being always helped to remember his situation of eventual dominance.¹⁶³

Before the Emperor had the opportunity to get this plan into a working order, he met his demise by an inquisitive mishap. He had really presented the government of Delhi upon Tardi Beg and had given orders for the expulsion of Abul Ma'ali, who had been misconducting himself, from the governorship of Punjab, and had decided to control the issues of Agra. On the way thither he halted at his library in the Dinpanah fortification and here happened the lethal mishap which put an end to his life.¹⁶⁴

As Humayun was descending the steps to begin his adventure, he heard the call of the Muazzin and respectfully knelt down on the second step. As he was getting up leaning profoundly on his staff, after the way of old men whose joints are solid, the finish of his staff slipped on the edged step, his foot failed him and he fell fast down strides on the ground. This record has been repeated by every later writers. Nizamuddin, Badauni, Ahmad Yadgar, and Firishta state that the Emperor was selected up insensible and carried to the palace. Before long, he energized adequately to talk and recovered awareness. But he soon went into a state of coma, and on the second day his weakness raised and it was expected that the end was close. Doctors attempt a wide range of cures yet they demonstrated without any result.¹⁶⁵

On Thursday the 12th February 1556 Tardi Beg who had now become the *Amin-ul-Umra* of the State, having finished the arrangements for the concealment of local

¹⁶² Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 360.

¹⁶³ *ibid*, p. 361

¹⁶⁴ *ibid*, pp. 361-362

¹⁶⁵ *ibid*, p. 364

disturbances, continued in a state to the *Jam-i-Masjid* and made the *Khutba* to be recited in the name of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar. The rule of Humayun was at an end.¹⁶⁶

The affirmation of Humayun's demise caused an extraordinary unsettling influence in the nation as constantly occurs on the death of an eastern ruler.¹⁶⁷ The Amirs did what they could to reestablish public certainty. They went to their individual territories to monitor the circumstance. At Delhi Tardi Beg presumed charge of the administration and sent the emblem of dominion with trusty representatives to Akbar alongside occupations of faithfulness and attachment.¹⁶⁸ Humayun's demise denotes an emergency in the history of the Mughal Empire.

We can say that Sher Shah reached Punjab and sent his commander in search of Humayun, and directed him not to capture the Emperor but to drive him out of India. During his exile in Persia, Humayun's great rival Sher Shah, who had established a vast and powerful empire in 1545, Islam Shah, Sher Shah's son died in 1553, well to decay the Afghan Empire was. Humayun was eager to return to India with newly recruited armies. The loss of Kabul and Qandahar denied Humayun the most important recruitment ground for the Mughal army.

¹⁶⁶ibid, pp. 366-367

¹⁶⁷*Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 659.

¹⁶⁸ibid, p. 660

CHAPTER-5
***SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF THE
INDIANS DURING SIXTEENTH
CENTURY***

Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University

History is, to be certain, a record of human civilization in its varied perceptions from the times of remotest remnant. It marks revealing in the right point of outlook the existence of the individuals at numerous phases and timeframes earlier. The historical backdrop of a definite nation manages the political activities of its family, their tactical relations, social propensities and traditions, culture art and architecture.

An analysis of the socio-social being of the individuals under the Great Mughals was a since a long time ago felt require in our verifiable inspections. Right now tries to present varied socio-cultural viewpoints under the early Mughals like architecture, painting, music, costume, ornaments, kitchen, ceremonies, women, education. Under the Mughals, Hindus and Muslims came nearer simultaneously and formed out how to greet each other's valid statements.

5.1 Architecture

Mughal architecture is the consequence of creative exceptional aptitude obtained from Indian, Timurid and yet European resources. The re-establishment of Delhi was accelerated under the laws of the early two Mughals, Babur and Humayun, who succeeded the Lodis. Mughal specialist in India was rapidly hindered when Delhi's situation of power was anticipated in 1540 by the Afghan ruler Sher Shah Sur and his descendants (1538-55).

The Sultans of Delhi erected numerous new palaces and established many new cities. In Central Asia and Persian the edifice and the garden extended each other, for the architects generally designed their buildings in the middle of a well-laid-out garden. The Mughal Emperors of India copied the method of their Central Asian predecessors, for they also built gardens earliest.¹

Mughal architecture indicates an important phase in the development of Indian art and culture. Babur only, among the unmatched Mughals, left no amaze of his character on India's architecture; despite the truth that we gain from his own Memories that he was an intelligent builder. Being an intelligent builder he built a few magnificent dwellings, bath tanks, gardens though they have all decomposed.²

¹Mohammad Azhar Ansari, *Studies in Mughal Social History*, Islamic Culture, vol. XXXIII No.1, January, 1959, p. 01.

²Nandlal Chatterji, *The Architectural Glories of Delhi*, Alpha publishing Concern, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 08-09.

Customs of architecture that had formed in Central Asia, Iran and several countries of the near east, enhanced by qualities taken from Indian architectural methods were more expanded in medieval India.³

Babur's Memoirs illustrate that the advance of stable constructions anticipated less important for him than the enlargement of gardens. Amongst the constructions of Babur's time that suffer are one supremely used mosque and two others constructed by nobles on Babur's instructions. These were entirely constructed in the last years of his rule. This is famous, for awaiting Babur's victory of India there is no evidence for the hold of his religious structures.⁴

The mosque that Babur himself granted is in Panipat.⁵ One of the mosque is at Sambhal, around 140 km east of Delhi. It was constructed in 1526 by Mir Hindu Beg, an important praiseworthy in the court of both Babur and Humayun.⁶

Another mosque founded on Babur's common instruction at Ayodhya,⁷ on the banks of the Ghagra River. This mosque is a lonely aisled three-bayed form. It is furthermore broadly smaller than the other two.⁸

In February 1526, two months before his victory over the Lodis, Babur established a site near to the Ghaggar River that he regarded perfect for a Char bagh.⁹ The garden which he planned himself was done in 1528-29.

The Chahar Bagh constructed by Babur in Agra. It filled in as the copy for the building of the gardens in the plain. The system included of rectangular or a square land parcel, encompassed by a monstrous partition restraining elevated entryways. The total ground was divided into four square equivalent divisions, which were constructed fountains and rivers. The water was presented either from a tank, organized close by, or wells burrowed for a similar cause.¹⁰

³ Z. Ashrafiyan Kiara, *The Historical Significance of the Turkish Conquest of Northern India*, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1966, p. 69.

⁴ Howard Crane, *The Patronage of Zahiruddin Babur and the origins of Mughal Architecture*, Bulletin of the Asia Institute, I, 1987, pp. 96-97.

⁵ Today in Karnal district of Haryana State.

⁶ Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge History of India I:4 Architecture of Mughal India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, p. 28.

⁷ It is today in Faizabad district.

⁸ Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge History of India I:4 Architecture of Mughal India*, op. cit., p. 29

⁹ *Baburnama*, pp. 464-65.

¹⁰ M. A. Ansari, *Socio-Cultural Life of the Great Mughals (1526-1707 A.D.)*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 2008, p.70.

Babur responded to the environment by building gardens and baths. Gardens instructed and standard could form the province to Babur's own favouring and longings. Running water needed for all Mughal gardens was supplied by building Persian water wheels, connected to deep ventured wells called *baolis*. Baths outlet with warm and chilly water were erecting in these gardens, for, as Babur expresses, inside such baths the heat and flying dust are locked out.¹¹

Babur's wan (*baoli*), a chambered-well 10X10 yards in the fort of Agra, was a three-storied building, the lowest-storey containing three rooms each of which opened on the descending steps.¹²

In Agra no sensible ground for a garden survived, however, Babur all objects thought to extend out a *Char bagh* that he named *Hasht Behisht*, the four quartered Garden of Eight Paradises. It was organized on the east bank of the Jumna River. Even though not stated clearly, Babur's diaries recommend that it filled in as his principal residence and court, for it included baths, a huge tank, an audience hall and private residences.¹³

A consequent garden was constructed merely inside the city's older fort. Before the end of 1526 this garden its well, a few stone fabrications, and a mosque were terminated. He dedicated its conclusion to his victory over the Rana Sanga.¹⁴

Agra, Babur's capital, so far he greatly appreciated Fatehpur Sikri, which he named Shukri, or Thanks, for its massive lake with water needed by Mughal troops. The conquer of the Rana on the boundaries of Fatehpur Sikri, Babur built a garden there called the Garden of Victory.¹⁵ In it he constructed an octagonal formation which he used for remnants and framing. In the central point of a close-by lake he built a giant phase.¹⁶

Merely two of Babur's Indian gardens can be recognized with any confidence. One is in Agra, today called the Ram Bagh, it was perhaps the GulAfshan garden. The second of Babur's gardens that can be recognized is at Dholpur, today in Bharatpur district, Rajasthan. It is his *Bagh-i-Nilufar*, or Lotus garden explained in his memoirs.¹⁷

¹¹ *Baburnama*, pp. 531-32.s

¹² Muhammad Afzal Khan, *Urban and Palace Water-Works during the Mughal Period*, The Research Library A.S. History, A.M.U., p. 210.

¹³ Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge History of India I:4 Architecture of Mughal India*, op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁴ *Baburnama*, p. 533.

¹⁵ *Baburnama*, pp. 581,584.

¹⁶ *Humayunnama*, pp. 102-103

¹⁷ Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge History of India I:4 Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 22.

The piece of the thing of the Mughal Emperors and their nobles in edifice canals was to fetch water to their orchards and gardens. Their own input to horticultural technology mostly obtained from their zest in growing Central Asian and Persian Fruits in India.¹⁸

The eminent royal residences were, definitely, elevated and wonderful structures with different mansions set apart for different reasons, for instance drawing rooms, changing areas, bathrooms, resigning rooms, opening into enclosed courtyards, the apartments of the female called the Harem, and so forth. A reference in 'Ain' shows that all the walls were well decorated with different types of precious stones, very well works of art and diverse gadgets.¹⁹

The Man Mandir palace built in Gwalior about 1500 by Raja Man Singh Tomar. Among some buildings appreciated by Babur in India, the palace is correctly considered as having persuaded Akbar in the construct of his own palaces.²⁰

The contribution too of the Sur rule to the formation of Mughal polity requires to be borne in mind.²¹ Inside the walls of Sher Shah's fortress, known today as the Purana Qila in Delhi, is a splendid single-aisled mosque that was perhaps the Jami mosque of this Sur Sultan. The fortress was inaugurated by the second Mughal, Humayun, but was perhaps ended by Sher Shah, an Afghan usurper, after he has driven out led the Mughals from Hindustan in 1540. Even though this mosque, today is known as the *Qila-i-Kuhna* mosque.²²

For Sher Shah Sur the federation of tomb structure with status supposed even greater significance. The only Indian Sultan falling from a low-ranking inheritance, Sher Shah desired to construct an elevated family to denote that he had the required goodness and high birth insisted of Islamic sovereigns.²³

Sher Shah built his grandfather's tomb in Narnaul. This huge tomb is elegantly provided with complimentary grey and red stones on the facade. It provides as an instant replica for the finest Mughal-period square-plan tombs.²⁴

¹⁸ Irfan Habib, *Technology and barriers to Social Change in Mughal India*, Indian Historical Review, Vol. 5 No. 1-2, 1980, p. 161 (see also Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng. Tr. H. Blochmann, p. 232.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.15.

²¹ M. Athar Ali, *Towards An Interpretation of the Mughal Empire*, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1978, p. 39.

²² *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p.12

²³ Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge History of India 1:4 Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 14.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 14.

In Sasaram, Sher Shah constructed for his father an enormous three-tiered octagonal mausoleum. Situated amid a walled complex with constructions generally establish in a saint's shrine-a mosque, a madrasa, a serai, a hall for religious meditation and step-well-this tomb conferred upon Sher Shah's low ranking father the trimmings of both a saint a king.²⁵

The monumental octagonal mausoleum, completed in 1545, that Sher Shah built for himself, also in Sasaram, was at that time the prevalent tomb ever constructed in all India. Its location, in the midst of an artificial lake, is a visual indication of the plentiful waters of heaven explained in the Quran. Particularly this tank consigns to the pool at which supporters extinguish their thirst when entering heaven, an indication made articulate by the existence of these specific Quranic verses (108:1-3) inscribed on the tomb's inside. The tomb's octagonal figure is again an indication of the eight levels that contain the Islamic concept of heaven. The eight-sided ambulatory about the tomb allows circumambulating the demised, an act of worship in it. The representation obvious in this tomb expects that of Mughal tombs. Therefore the origins of Mughal mausoleum do not lie absolutely outside of India.²⁶

The arrival of the Mughals denotes the flowering of Indian architecture and Indian art practices. Babur could not build a noticeable impact on Indian practices. He imported a few craftsmen from Muslim countries, but he did not have enough time at his disposal to build suffering buildings. His reign was too short.²⁷

Even though Humayun had inadequate time to complete his architectural designs, but his fantastic tomb was accomplished by his widow Haji Begam. This part illustrates the love of the wife for her husband. It may be said to be an inverse parallel to the Taj. Humayun's tomb is of grand significance in the history of Mughal Indian architecture.²⁸

Catherine B. Asher expressed, "Much controversy centres on Humayun's rule in erecting the fortified enclosure today known as Delhi's Purana Qila. Humayun commenced a walled city and imperial palace on this site in 1533. The city, named Din-

²⁵ibid.,p. 14.

²⁶ibid., p. 14.

²⁷Nandalal Chatterji, *The Architectural Glories of Delhi*, op. cit., p. 45.

²⁸ibid.

Panah or Refuge of Religion, was auspiciously situated upon the age-old site known as Indraprastha, long associated with the traditional Hindu epic *Mahabharata*.²⁹

Humayun approximately surely constructed the fort's little octagonal pavilion, known as the Sher Mandal and customarily connected with the library upon whose ladder Humayun seriously fell in 1556, less than a year after his triumphant arrival to India.³⁰

The only marked monument about Humayun's support is a mosque in Agra known after the name of its vicinity, Kachpura. Two inscriptions specify that the mosque was completed in 1530, the year of Humayun's succession to the throne.³¹

Other monuments of this time comprise the mosque of Ghazanfar, built-in 1528-29 through Babur's reign next to the Delhi airport in Palam. In an additional part of Delhi, Malvianagar, an inhabited centre for religious study (*khanqah*) was constructed in 1534-35 to respect Shaikh Faridud Din Ganj-i Shakar, a long-deceased saint. That builds it modern with Humayun's Din-Panah, though it exposes no alertness of new regal appearances. Both the mosque and Khanqah are short single-aisled three-bayed constructions remarkable for neither their ratios nor adornment.³²

Catherine B. Asher expressed, "One more structure suggests the persistence of the older Lodi style, it is a small three-bayed single-aisled mosque in Fatehabad (Hisar District, Haryana), known as the Humayuni mosque. An inscription now detached from the structure bears the date 1539 and describes the construction of a mosque during Humayun's reign."³³

However, the architecture of both Babur and Humayun sowed the seeds for future building under the Mughals. This is particularly factual for the types of jobs built, even though the intention and importance will transform somewhat like the state adults and progresses its exclusive concepts of authority.³⁴

Percy brown expressed, "The material records which have survived of both Babur and Humayun contributions to the building art of the country are therefore almost negligible."³⁵

²⁹ Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge History of India 1:4 Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 32.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 33.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 34.

³² *ibid.*, p. 35.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁴ Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge History of India 1:4 Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 37.

³⁵ Percy Brown, *Monuments of Mughal India*, Cambridge History of India, Vol.4, p. 5

Babur and Humayun both devotedly conscious of their Timurid heritage endeavoured to commence Timurid motivated architectural figures and spatial formations into India. Even though the conclusion was not inevitably victorious, the ideology at the back of such appearances is sustained by their Mughal descendants.

5.2 Costumes

The costume is the reflection of the culture.³⁶ Indian costume during the periods has been decided primarily through the climatic situations, as well as by the changing obligations of the socio-religious traditions and styles of this country.

The Mughal emperors were extremely concerned about devising new styles and designs in their costumes. The depiction of the sovereign's costume in the reigns of Babur and Humayun is so scanty. Humayun discovered numerous sorts of new costumes, chiefly the one called *Ulbagcha*. It was a waist-coat, open in front and hanging down to the waist over the coat or *gada*.³⁷ Humayun and Akbar in general transformed their costumes every day to match with the colour of the planet of the day.

The Muslim aristocrats spent generously on their costumes and were usually dressed in their fabulous attire.³⁸ They wore Shalmars³⁹ and breeches⁴⁰ or tight-fitting trousers. The affluent Muslims in personal set on lungis or long and loose loin cloth. The shirt, which was dressed primarily by the higher and middle-class persons, hung over the breeches, and was open from the top to bottom like the coat,⁴¹ thus being extremely suitable for a warm country like ours. As for safety against cold in winter, they dressed over their shirts an 'Aracaluck' (*Bandi*), quilted with cotton and pinked, and its exterior coating was usually complete of a painted material called 'Schite' or 'Chhit'.⁴² Over this item of clothing was dressed a loose-fitting coat called the Qaba.⁴³ The affluent had its woven with golden yarns and other wealthy materials.⁴⁴

³⁶M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life Under the Great Mughals* (1526-1707 A.D.), Chugh Publication Allahabad, 1978, p. 22.

³⁷Khwandamir, *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, Eng. Tr. Bains Prasad, 1940, p. 45

³⁸Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, A.D. 1656-1668, New Delhi, 1972, p. 269.

³⁹*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 96

⁴⁰M. S. Commissariat, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, Oxford, 1931, p. 64.

⁴¹Surendranath Sen, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 51.

⁴²Surendranath Sen, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, op. cit., p. 51.

⁴³*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 95.

⁴⁴*Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, op. cit., p. 51.

The aristocratic Hindus dressed 'Qaba',⁴⁵ similar to their Muslim complements, of course, with actual small diversities. Fine 'dhotis' with 'chaddars' on the shoulders were very generally utilized by the well-to-do Hindus.⁴⁶ Woolen shawls (*Shals*)⁴⁷ of dissimilar gorgeous colours were in trend amongst the more affluent parts of the Hindus. It was also extremely trendy craze amongst the well-to-do classes to tie one's waist with a broad scarf or girdle,⁴⁸ sometimes complete of expensive materials of different colours, and it was usually known as 'Kamarband' (waistband).

The successors of Timur get dressed "a little three-fold turban" wound broadly but badly round the head, with a heron's plume stuck over it to differentiate the sovereign from other positions. The Mughal Emperor, Humayun discovered the *Taj-i-izzat*, a head dress created of a cap (*Kulah*) and a wrapping cloth (*Asabah*). The cap had an opening in front, thus shaping a figure 'V'. As it had two partitions, each of these when folded upwards, generated the same figure. Humayun named it *Taj-i-izzat*.⁴⁹

Furthermore, to do classes well, both among the Hindus and the Muslims always on the cap or a turban ('Pag' or 'Pagri')⁵⁰ while getting out of their houses. The head dress was not usually taken in the presence of a senior or elderly.⁵¹ Turbans also became popular among Muslim nobles and were usually white and round in shape.⁵²

⁴⁵P. N. Ojha, *Glimpses of Social Life in Mughal India*, Classical Publications, New Delhi, 1979, p. 11

⁴⁶P. N. Ojha, *Glimpses of Social Life in Mughal India*, op. cit., p. 11.

⁴⁷*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 98.

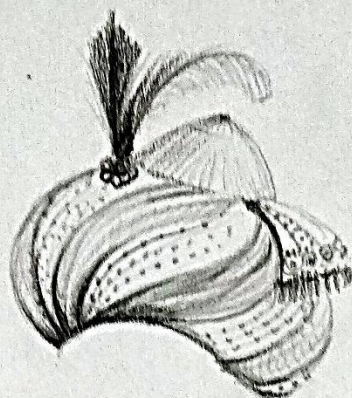
⁴⁸Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Vol. II, Grey, Haklyut Society, London, 1892, pp. 410-412.

⁴⁹Islamic Culture, Jan.1957, p. 260, cited in: M.P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals (1526-1700A.D.)*, p. 26

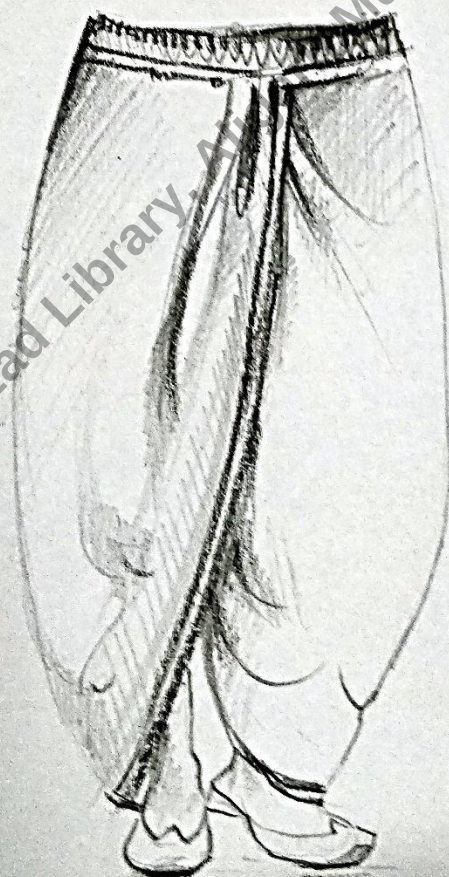
⁵⁰J. N. Das Gupta, *Bengal in the 16th century*, Gurgaon, Vintage books, 1989, p. 91

⁵¹De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mughal*, Tr. by Hoyland, Bombay, 1928, pp. 80-81

⁵²Surendranath Sen, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 52.



Pagri



Dhoti

The standard of the costume among the common people was very different from that of the aristocrats. Through the summer months, they satisfied themselves minimal of clothing, for instance; 'Dhoti' or even a cotton 'Langota'⁵³ (or Loincloth) tied round their waist and reaching down their knees.⁵⁴ Babur in his memoirs writes, "The Hindustanis tie a thing called *Langota* decent clout which hangs two spans below the naval."⁵⁵

The climatic condition of the country did not allow the excess of clothing.⁵⁶ According to the *Padshahnama* of Lahauri, the people used Lungis (loin-cloth in private). When and where the weather was wintry, the people covered themselves more fully.

Mention to Bengal, This is how Abul Fazal inscribed, "Men and women, for the most part, go naked wearing only a cloth (Lungi) about the loins,⁵⁷ and this appears to have been true as regards the bulk of India's teeming millions." A 'Dhoti' (or a single sheet of long cloth below the waist) and another small piece of cloth on the shoulders (i.e. Chaddar), attending in the day time as a garment and at night as a bed,⁵⁸ were regarded to compose an adequate and reputable costume for a moderate Hindu. The dress of a common grower is a dhoti and a gamchha.⁵⁹

Women's costumes were less diverse than men. Hindu women usually dressed a 'Sari' (i.e. a piece of cloth, wrapped around the middle part of the body and thrown over the head), and a short jacket or brassiere, popularly called 'Angiya' (Blouse).⁶⁰ The 'Sari' which was nearly in general use was of various colours, and the women of the well to classes dressed the 'Saris' of thin fine materials, adorned with several tempting prints or designs. Babur describes 'Sari' as "A cloth, one end of which goes around the waist, and the other is thrown over the head."⁶¹

⁵³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 274.

⁵⁴ Fryer and Thomas Roe; *Travels in India in the 17th century*, New Delhi, 1993, p. 216

⁵⁵ *Baburnama*, p. 519

⁵⁶ Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, op. cit., pp. 240-241

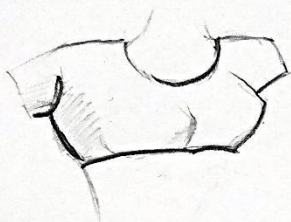
⁵⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, 1949, p.134.

⁵⁸ R. V. Baumer, *Aspects of Bengali History and Society*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976, p. 43.

⁵⁹ Bengal District Gazetteers, Puri, by L.S.S. O' Mallaey, Usha, 1984, p. 63.

⁶⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 342.

⁶¹ *Baburnama*, p. 519.



Blouse(Angiya)



Sari



Ghagra

Another type of plausible costume design of a 'Lahanga'⁶² or 'Ghagra'⁶³ (i.e. a long and a loose skirt), a 'Choli' or 'Angiya' as noted above, and an 'Odhani' (or 'Dupatta')⁶⁴ or a long scarf which was thrown to cover the head and upper parts of the body. The 'Ghagra' was popular, more especially amongst Muslim women. Abul Fazal also mentions the use of 'Payjamas' by the high-class females.⁶⁵ The Muslim women were differentiated chiefly by their 'Shahuars' (breeches) and shirts with half-length sleeves.⁶⁶

Srivastava expressed, "Muslim ladies were generally very strict in the observance of 'Purdah' and they put on 'burqas' whenever they move out of their houses; but Hindu ladies generally went out unveiled; in some case, of course, they observed 'Ghoonghat'. Hindu ladies adorned their hair with flowers and jewels."⁶⁷

5.3 Ornaments

The Hindus were beloved of the ornaments more than the Muslims. It was a trend with the later to put on armlets of different designs. High-class Hindus, on the other hand, embellished themselves with 'Kundals'⁶⁸ in their ears, finger rings⁶⁹, and armlets. 'Mukuta',⁷⁰ (a golden tiara work on the turban) on the head and necklaces (*Hars*)⁷¹ inlaid with pearls and other valuable metals were also used by the princes and those related to the well to do classes.

The Rajput soldier differentiated himself by his earrings and the bracelets on his elbow. The rest of men's ornaments, if at all they may be the so-called formation of beautiful swords, daggers, bows and weapons.⁷² Yet the common people amongst the Hindus wore ornaments if they could afford to do so. Ornaments were frequently prepared of gold or silver, but those who could not afford them had no substitute but to challenge themselves with less expensive metals or other materials.⁷³

⁶²Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. III, p. 341.

⁶³R. V. Baumer, *Aspects of Bengali History and Society*, op. cit., p. 47.

⁶⁴ibid., p. 46.

⁶⁵Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. III, p. 342.

⁶⁶Surendranath Sen, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 53.

⁶⁷M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals (1526-1700 A.D.)*, op. cit., p. 31.

⁶⁸Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. III, p. 342.

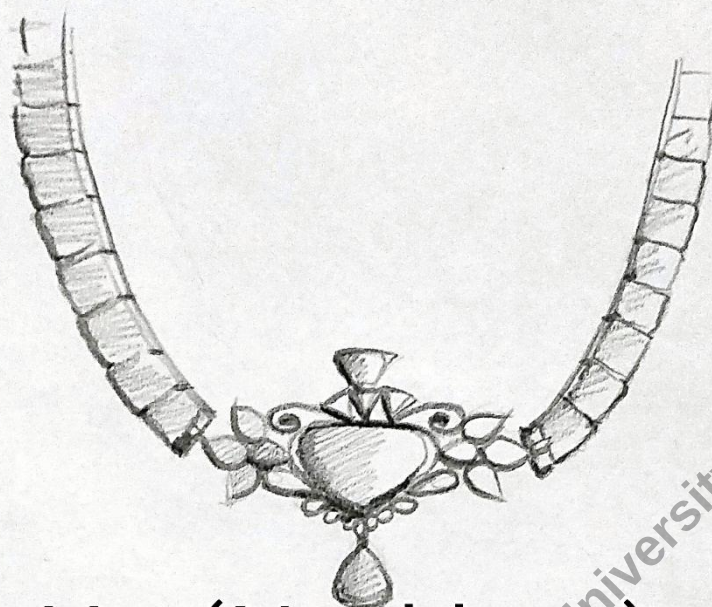
⁶⁹ibid.

⁷⁰ibid.

⁷¹Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 268.

⁷²Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. III, p. 342.

⁷³Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 224.



Har(Necklace)



Finger ring



Kundal(Ear ring)

Muslims had an enthusiasm to put on amulets of different designs. All the Mughal Emperors adorned themselves generously with ornaments and jewels, chiefly on particular chances.⁷⁴ Women decorating her with different ornaments as nose-rings, necklaces, rings, wearing a belt hung with small bells, garlands of flowers, etc.

Mandelslo informed us that dressing of hair was cautiously completed by women, particularly of the higher and well-to-do classes. Long hair was regarded as a mark of beauty.⁷⁵ Girls up to the age of twelve kept merely a small tail of hair and ready it into a roll on one side of the head. Young maidens made their long hair into tresses (popularly called Choti) bound them with ribbons and opulently adorned them with stunning flowers, pearls and jewels. "Their hair is always dressed, plaited and perfumed with scented oil." Hindu ladies usually tied their hair behind their heads.⁷⁶

It is obvious from the description of foreign travellers that ornaments were the extreme delight of women's hearts.⁷⁷ Ladies were familiarized with the use of ornaments from the very childhood. The ears and nose were pierced at a very tender age. There was a diversity of women's ornaments that were utilized for the various limbs of the body, e.g. head, neck, nose, ears, arms, fingers, waist, thigh, feet, etc.⁷⁸ *Shishphul*⁷⁹ crowned the head.⁸⁰

Women also wore ornaments in the nose, which were opulently decorated. The nose ornament (*Nath*) was not conversant in ancient India. It was brought into India in the early medieval period.⁸¹ Dr. Chopra also inscribed that nose ornaments were unfamiliar in India up to the early medieval period, and it appears fairly convinced that this fashion was brought into India by the Muhammadan intruders from the north-west.⁸²

It is valuable to examine that ornaments in Mughal age surely offered the utmost degree of allurements for the Indian women of various classes, and without them possibly

⁷⁴P. N. Ojha, *North Indian Social Life during the Mughal Period*, Oriental Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 1975, pp. 44-45.

⁷⁵Mandelslo's *Travels in Western India*, p. 50.

⁷⁶Fryer and Thomas Roe; *Travels in India in the 17th century*, op. cit., p. 182.

⁷⁷M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals (1526-1700 A.D.)*, p. 35.

⁷⁸Abdul Aziz, *Arms and Jewellery of the Indian Mughals*, Lahore, 1947, p. 132.

⁷⁹It was called Rakhari in Rajputana.

⁸⁰*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 312.

⁸¹M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals (1526-1700 A.D.)*, p. 36.

⁸²Pran Nath Chopra, *Some aspects of the Social Life during the Mughal age (1526-17070)*, Agra, S.L. Agarwal, 1963, p. 25.

they could not even dream of delighting the happiness of life. Indeed all the ornaments could be utilized only by women whose husbands were alive.

5.4 Kitchen

The standard of dishes did not suffer from a lack of variety or quality in the age of the great Mughals, and they mainly took into account the socio-economic status of different classes among the Hindus and the Muslims.

With the Mughal emperors, their nobles had to do well between the two communities, used for various and rich food. Nearly all the emperors had their own separate Imperial kitchen under a zealous and honest officer, known as Mir Bakwal or Master of the Kitchen, with many assistants, treasures, disasters, and clever writers.⁸³ Humayun also believed that he is considered to be beef⁸⁴ was not a proper meal for pious people.⁸⁵

Members of the Hindu aristocracy and well-to-do classes also lagged behind their Muslim brothers in the variety and variety of their cuisine, who were mostly vegetarian, restraining various types of cooked rice, bread, ghee (or butter), milk-products, sweet-meats, ample of sugar, fruits, vegetables and 'sags' of many varieties. A special variety of tasty food known as "Kheer" (prepared from fine rice, milk, sugar, spices, dry fruits, etc.) emerged to have been frequently popular amongst the higher sections of the society, mainly in Bengal, Orissa, and regions now covered by the modern States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Likewise, 'khichari', the most popular dish of the Hindus, has been indicated by almost all foreign travellers.⁸⁶

Numerous of the Hindus were vegetarians, particularly the Brahmins and the merchant (Bania) class. The cows were respected by all classes of Hindus, and no one ate the flesh of the cow, as it was considered a sinner. Other classes of Hindus, however, were non-vegetarians, and they carried meat of various kinds of animals and birds, viz., goats, kids, sheep, chicken, rats, lizards, pigeons, etc., But they neither took eggs nor meat of fowls, pigs and other domestic animals.⁸⁷ Fish was a popular food for most people of Bengal and Orissa.⁸⁸

⁸³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 59-60.

⁸⁴ *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, Tr. Stewart, p. 83.

⁸⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I pp. 83-84.

⁸⁶ Surendranath Sen, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 73.

⁸⁷ P. N. Ojha, *Glimpses of Social Life in Mughal India*, p. 3.

⁸⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp.134,138.

Fruits, green and dry, various varieties, especially by well-to-do classes, constituted an important item in the diet between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Betel leaves (*pan*) with areca-nuts, lime, camphor, 'Kasturi' and spices like 'laung', 'ilaichi' etc. commonly taken after food to change mouth odour.⁸⁹ The Mughal king and some of his nobles were accustomed to using the Ganges water. Hindus were mostly vegetarians and those who were non-vegetarians were generally satisfied with an inferior variety of meat and slightly dry and salted fish.⁹⁰

In the Mughal era, different varieties included food and their quality depended on the socio-economic status of different classes between Hindus and Muslims. Palsaert's remarked that "they (Hindus) know little of the taste of meat and never take anything that has blood" applies to Jains,⁹¹ Brahmans, and Vaishyas. Badauni observed that most of them would not take even garlic and onion because their view of life was to eat to live and not live to eat. Mainly Brahmans were firmly vegetarians. Verthema and Nuniz who visited India in the 16th century tell us that Brahmans never killed any creature. Monks and learned men also did not take meat, fish or eggs. But the Brahmins also ate meat and fish in Punjab and Bengal, and Rajputs throughout the country were accustomed to animal diet.⁹²

Humayun gave up eating animal flesh for a few months from the time of India's reconstruction campaign and occupied Delhi. He thought that beef⁹³ was not a portion of suitable food for devotees.

In the Mughal period, non-vegetarians ate the flesh of all kinds of animals, except for bulls and cows which were strictly forbidden, and even kings strictly followed this rule. Rajputs were fond of eating goats and sheep meat.⁹⁴ They also saw fish.⁹⁵ The special dish of the animals was meat which they cooked in many ways. But the pork was forbidden for Muslims.⁹⁶

⁸⁹Foster, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 2007, p. 300.

⁹⁰Francisco Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie of Jahangir's India*, tr. from Dutch by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, pp. 60-61.

⁹¹Della Valle, *Travels*, op. cit., p. 406.

⁹²Mandelslo's *Travels in Western India*, p. 58.

⁹³*Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 351.

⁹⁴Palsaert, op. cit., p. 76.

⁹⁵De Laet, op. cit., p. 88.

⁹⁶Pran Nath Chopra, *Some Aspects of the Social Life during the Mughal Age (1526-1700 A.D.)*, p. 31.

The royal kitchen was known as *Matbakh*⁹⁷ (Matbakh is a usual term used for kitchen in Persian). It remained under the control of Khan-i-Saman. The workers consisted of practiced men who managed the work of the royal kitchen. At the time of cooking, and when the winch is taken out, a canopy is dispersed, and the cooker is kept away. The cooks raised their sleeves, and the knots of their clothes, and when they drew food, held their hands before their mouths and noses; the cook and Bakawal tasted it, after which it was tasted by Mir Bakawal and then added to the dish.⁹⁸ To ensure protection from poison, the officer in charge tasted the dishes before being served to the emperor. Even drinking water was kept closed.

Muslim nobles were addicted to sumptuous food. According to Sir Thomas Roe, twenty dishes at a time were served at the tables of the nobles, but sometimes the number went even beyond fifty. Generally different types of meat were taken on all occasions; sometimes adulterated meat was also sold. Both communities enjoyed sweet food and fresh and dry fruits. Rice, cooked vegetables, pulses, butter, milk, curd, and pickles were also used. Rice was prepared in a variety of ways when prepared with vegetables, it was called 'birinj', and the whole zardbirinj was a sweet rich dish. Milk and butter being in abundance were freely taken by people of all classes.⁹⁹

Hindus had prepared sweets of various kinds with the Chinese. Sweet-meats of various varieties were equally liked by the Mughals and Hindu nobles. The utensils used in Hindu kitchens, as plates, cups, water jugs, and candlesticks, etc. were all made of brass or bronze. Indians baked their chapatis on iron plates, a frying pan. The method of cooking bread, rice and pulse adopted by Hindus and Muslims was almost the same. Use the Muslim kitchen utensils were either ceramics or made of copper. Mughal kings generally used gold and silverware on¹⁰⁰ and were fond of precious china and glassware. High-quality porcelain was used by most Muslim royalty and nobility pot.

Hindu frequently took two meals a day.¹⁰¹ Srivastava expressed, "They seem to be rigid and strict in their kitchen rules. Cleanliness was most essential, in the preparation and service of food in Hindu kitchens. The walls and floor of the kitchen called *chauka* were always washed with cow-dung before the cooking started and none

⁹⁷ M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals (1526-1700 A.D.)*, p. 3.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 150.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 59.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 325.

was allowed to enter the *chauka* with shoes on. Hindus would prefer to go without meals than to accept a dish defiled by the touch of a low caste person.”¹⁰²

It was necessary to bath before meals. The children of the household used to eat first.¹⁰³ The owner of the house ate ahead and the wives and cooks came last.¹⁰⁴ Wives did not join her husband at the dining table.¹⁰⁵ An ordinary Hindu used to eat his food on a pattal made of few leaves. Abul Fazl writes that the common people ate in vessels of brass or pattals.¹⁰⁶ The high class used silverware.¹⁰⁷ Food served with a large spoon.

Muslims were not at all exacting in inspecting such formalities. His kitchen and table manners were quite simple; although not always as clean as Hindus. They carried their food on their clothes and wherever they liked. A sufva called *dastarkhwan* was spread on the flooring and dishes were organized thereon.¹⁰⁸ They occasionally prepared the use of spoons, although this was not the common practice. De Laet inscribed that they ate with fingers.¹⁰⁹

Fruits of various varieties, green and dried, constitute an important item in the diet of the well-to-do classes, between both the Hindus and the Muslims. The seasonal fruits, such as mangoes, blackberries, oranges, cucumbers, guavas, dates, figs, grapes, etc. were in large quantity and were enjoyed by all.¹¹⁰ Tea was common throughout India. Tea and coffee were taken by a large number of people. Brahman and Baniya were particularly fond of it.

The use of alcohol seems to have been limited to only a few of the great elite, mostly Muslims, although it was not entirely unknown to Hindu welfare classes. Wine, called *araq* by Babur,¹¹¹ was a drink prohibited to Muslims by their religion. The custom also forbade it to prevail among Hindus. Alcohol was considered inauspicious and destructive to health.

¹⁰²M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals*(1526-1700 A.D.), p. 8.

¹⁰³ibid, p.8.

¹⁰⁴*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 298.

¹⁰⁵M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals*(1526-1700 A.D.),p. 8.

¹⁰⁶*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 298.

¹⁰⁷M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals*(1526-1700 A.D.), p. 9.

¹⁰⁸Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Tr. V. Ball, Oxford, 1925, p. 273; See also M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals*(1526-1700 A.D.), p. 10.

¹⁰⁹De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mughals*, pp. 91-92.

¹¹⁰Pran Nath Chopra, *Some Aspects of the Social Life during the Mughal Age* (1526-1707), p. 33.

¹¹¹*Baburnama*, pp. 385-386.

There was no ban on dry intoxicants resembling opium and *Ganja*.¹¹² The Rajputs and the Muslims were particularly addicted to it. The Rajputs started it at a very young age.¹¹³ A few of the Mughal Emperors were also very fond of this intoxicant, particularly Humayun and Jahangir.¹¹⁴ Humayun used to say, "I am an opium-eater, if there is any delay in my comings and goings, do not angry with me."¹¹⁵

Bhang was a different intoxicant usually used by the poor, who sometimes merged it with nutmegs and mace, whereas the rich added cloves, camphor, amber, musk and opium to it. In some modern pieces of evidences we discover reference of Bhang also.¹¹⁶ Babur was also fond of this intoxicant. Bhang kept one in an enjoyable mood. But an extreme dose of it would make one senseless.

5.5 Ceremonies

A few of the general religious festivals of the Hindus and Muslims, pilgrimages, fairs, folk-dancing dramatic performances, etc. that permitted the common people from time to time to be free from sorrows and search for the exact toilets of their struggling lives. The festivals of the Hindus were numerous, occurring at almost all times of the year. The Hindu festivals outnumbered the Muslim and grand celebrations.¹¹⁷ Among the Hindus, the 'Basant Panchami' festival was the fore-runner of spring and was renowned for melodious songs, lilting folk-dances, and the emitting of coloured powders ('Abir', 'Gulal', etc.).¹¹⁸

The festival of 'Shivaratri'¹¹⁹ fell on the night of the fourteenth day of Phalgun. 'Holi'¹²⁰ was, as even today, a very significant festival of the Hindus which fell on the last day of the month of Phalgun (February-March). 'Ramanavami'¹²¹ (the birth-day of Rama) fell on the 9th day of the 'Shuklapaksha' (light-fortnight) in the month 'Chaitra' (March-April). Another great festival, particularly beloved with the Brahmans, was

¹¹²M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals*(1526-1700 A.D.), p. 14

¹¹³ibid.

¹¹⁴Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Tr. Alexander Rogers, Vol. I, Munshiram Manohar Lal Publishers, Delhi, 1989, p. 310.

¹¹⁵*Humayunnama*, p. 131.

¹¹⁶*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 126.

¹¹⁷Pran Nath Chopra; *Some Aspects of the Social Life during the Mughal age* (1526-1707), p. 78.

¹¹⁸*Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 353.

¹¹⁹ibid., p. 354.

¹²⁰ibid., p. 321.

¹²¹ibid., p. 350.

‘Raksha-Bandhana’¹²² which occurred on the last day of the month of ‘Shravana’ (July-August).

‘Vijay-dashmi’¹²³ (or ‘dashera’) was another very prevalent festival of the Hindus of all classes. This festival occurred on the tenth day of the ‘Shuklapaksha’ in the month of Aswin (September-October). On this occasion the worship of the beloved goddess Durga was presented with enormous interest and joyousness, more predominantly in Bengal. ‘Diwali’ or ‘Dipavali’ (i.e. a row of lamps),¹²⁴ the ‘Festival of lamps’, was one of the most prevalent and colourful festivals of the Hindus. It fell on the last day of the ‘Kartika’ (October-November). A large number of wick-lamps were lit both inside and outside every Hindu house, temple or any other public building. Bernier presents us a graphic portrait of the festival of “Ratha-Yatra” at Puri (in Orissa) which fell in Asarh (July), and it ended for eight or nine days, and in that an unbelievable gathering of persons took part.¹²⁵

The Hindus made occasional pilgrimages to popular saints’ temples and holy cities or sacred rivers like the Ganges, the Sarasvati, the Jamuna, etc.¹²⁶ there were many holy places which became popular pilgrimage centres for Hindus.¹²⁷

Muslim festivals, on the other hand, were few but celebrated with equal enthusiasm. In fact, they were the anniversaries of some of the most significant occasions in the early history of Islam. The Mughals could not avoid the effect of the Hindu culture. The Mughal emperors adopted a few of the Hindu festivals and gave them a place in court ceremonies to bring the two communities closer. They took eager concern in the feasts and festivals of the people. Humayun adopted the *tuladan*.¹²⁸

There was an immense happiness on the birthday of the ruling monarch.¹²⁹ Contemporary records show that on this day the emperor was weighed with gold, silver and jewellery were distributed to the poor,¹³⁰ to remove the ill effects of stars. Humayun had the distinction of being the first Mughal emperor to adopt this custom.¹³¹

¹²²ibid., p. 351.

¹²³ibid., p. 352.

¹²⁴ibid., p. 353.

¹²⁵Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 304-306

¹²⁶*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, pp. 332-333.

¹²⁷ibid., pp.333-336.

¹²⁸M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals (1526-1700A.D.)*, p. 68.

¹²⁹*Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 392.

¹³⁰*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 266-67.

¹³¹*Qanun-i-Humayuni*, p. 76.

The happiness of the birthday celebration ended for five days in the capital. In *Qanun-i-Humayuni* that Humayun familiarized another festival to symbol the anniversary of the accession of the Emperor, which was examined with large public joyousness for a week.¹³² It appears to have dropped into disuse after Humayun, but it was not discontinued in general. Officers and soldiers also partook in the celebrations.¹³³

One of the most significant amusements for the imperial ladies was 'Khushroz'.¹³⁴ "Fancy fair was a special feature of the Mughal social life. The first of this kind was held on boats near the king's palace after the customary mystic feast."¹³⁵

A concise cite, similarly, may be made of the significant festivals and pilgrimages of the Muslims, which gave them a chance for their distraction. First of all, a mention may be complete of the state-festival of Nauroz,¹³⁶ held usually on the Persian New Year's Day. The Nauroz was a prevalent Iranian spring festival, frequently celebrated in big gardens and river-side parks accompanied by music and dancing.

The orthodox sectors, though, connected great significance to the 'Id' ('Id-ul-Fiter' or the festival of the breaking of the Fast) festival to the holy prayers presented on that occasion. Its date depended, as even today, upon the visibility of the moon. Palseart explains this festival, which was observed after a prolonged fast for one full month (during hot Ramazan).¹³⁷

The other significant festival was that of 'Shab-i-Barat',¹³⁸ (the night of record) which fell on the 14th day of Shab-i-kadar. On this occasion, the religious enthusiasts amongst the Muslims spent the whole night in offering particular prayers, and in reading the Holy Quran.

During the Mughal era, we find that many seats of Hindu pilgrimage had fairs. These fairs served religious as well as social purposes. Travelling to holy places and taking a dip in the holy waters were a means of gaining religious merit, but they also had a social and economic significance for the common man.¹³⁹

¹³² *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, pp. 19-20.

¹³³ Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Indian Pr., Allahabad, 1962, p. 136.

¹³⁴ It was also known as Day of Fancy Bazaars.

¹³⁵ *Humayunnama*, p. 126.

¹³⁶ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, pp. 48,49.

¹³⁷ Palseart, *Jahangir's India*, p. 73.

¹³⁸ *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, p. 46.

¹³⁹ P. N. Chopra, *Some Aspects of Social Life during the Mughal Age (1526-1707)*, p. 101.

5.6 Women

No study of a society can be complete without reference to the status of women in it. The status of women in a society reflects its civilization, culture and standards of refinement.

Before the Mughal period, Raziya Sultan was considered as the first woman who ruled over the throne of Delhi as the descendant of his father Iltutmish. As Iltutmish confirmed after Gwalior campaign that successor of the throne of Delhi was not his sons but his capable daughter because of her potentialities. He was baffled by the dissent of his proud nobles consequently because they were not glad about the idea of working under the rule of a woman.

The Mughal age witnessed that of the princesses, queens, and other ladies of the imperial Mughal harem. There were women of different races, like Muslim women, Hindu women including Rajput ladies, also Christian women.¹⁴⁰

Princess of Babur: The wives of Babur as recorded by him and his daughter Gulbadan Begum were- Ayisha Sultan Begam, Zainab Sultan Begam, Maham Begam, Masuma Sultan Begam, Gulrukh Begam, Dildar Begam and Bibi Mubarika, the Afghan wife.¹⁴¹

Numerous women lived inside the harem such as the king's wives, mother, step-mothers, foster-mothers, aunts, grandmothers, sisters, daughters, concubines, dancing and singing girls, slave and servant girls. There were also the male children permitted to live inside the harem until they grew up. There were various women officials and guards who were assigned by the emperor for taking care of the different needs of the harem.¹⁴²

In the harem every woman had a diverse position. The role, status and respect of the ladies of harem were determined according to their place which they had in the emperor's life. Their relationship amongst themselves was ordinarily friendly and cordial. Every woman tried to delight the emperor and no one showed her bad qualities such as jealousy, quarrelsome nature. There was a competition between women for a

¹⁴⁰Soma Mukherjee, *Royal Mughal Ladies and their Contribution*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2001, p. 15.

¹⁴¹*Baburnama*, (translator's note), pp. 711-712.

¹⁴²Soma Mukherjee, *Royal Mughal Ladies and their Contribution*, op. cit., p. 16.

great honour to give first birth a male child, so one woman tried to miscarry the pregnancies.¹⁴³

The concubines were not always treated as inferiors. Sometimes they had to take significant responsibility than legal wives. During the time of Babur I got the point all the Mughal emperors had several concubines in their harems. There were two Babur's concubines known as Gulnar Aghacha and Nargul Aghacha,¹⁴⁴ who were Circassian slaves gifted to him by Shah Tahmasp. Gulnar Aghacha came with Gulbadan Begam to Mecca for the Haj.¹⁴⁵ One of Humayun's concubine known as Bhawal Anaga was one of Akbar's wet nurses.¹⁴⁶

The special gifts in cash and kind on special occasions were also accepted by the royal Mughal Ladies. Gulbadan Begam gives information that after Babur's victory at Panipat against Ibrahim Lodi, he told Khwaja Kilan Beg to take precious gifts to his "elder relations, sisters and each person of the harem."¹⁴⁷

At the period of the Mughals there were quite a few imperial Mughal ladies who have not educated themselves, but also have left behind them works of literary value. In Babur's career there were two important ladies for him who played a great role were one of his mother Qutlugh Nigar Khanam was an educated daughter of Yunus Khan, who was the Chaghtai chief in Central Asia, and descendant of the great Mongol Chingiz Khan.¹⁴⁸ She was educated in Turki and Persian.¹⁴⁹ And second, was his maternal grandmother Aisan Daulat Begam, both had a great role in shaping Babur's life.

Women organized educational institutions maintaining libraries and collecting books. We know that out of the nine copies that were made of Bayazid's *Humayunnama* written by Akbar's order, one was given to Gulbadan Begam.¹⁵⁰ Gulbadan Begam had a library of her own that had various rare works.¹⁵¹ She was a well educated lady.

¹⁴³ Palsaert, *Jahangir's India, The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, Tr. Moreland and Geyl, p. 66.

¹⁴⁴ *Baburnama*, p. 712 (Translator's note); *Humayunnama*, p. 225.

¹⁴⁵ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, Bibliotheca Indica pub., Calcutta, 1939, pp. 205-206.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, pp.130-131.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

¹⁴⁸ *Baburnama*, pp. 17-19.

¹⁴⁹ *Baburnama*, p. xxviii (preface), S. M. Edwardes, *Babur, Diarist and Despot*, pp. 19-20

¹⁵⁰ *Humayunnama*, p. 76.

¹⁵¹ F. E. Keay, *Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times An Inquiry into its Origin, Developments and Ideals*, Oxford University Press, London, 1938, p. 80; N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India during Mohamman rule*, Longmans, London, 1916, pp. 201-202

Humayun's wife Hamida Bano Begam was also an educated woman.¹⁵² In the court, there was governess or school mistress appointed to teach reading and writing to the imperial ladies. They were titled Atun-Mama.¹⁵³

One of Humayun's educated wives was Bega Begum from the Shia sect. She was the daughter of an uncle (*taghai*) Yadgar Beg. Abul Fazl called her '*dukhtar-i-taghai-i-walida-i-jannat Ashyani*'.¹⁵⁴

Bega Begum was married to Humayun in his youth. She was a brave woman. She went with her husband in the Battle of Chausa. Nevertheless, most of the Persian sources like '*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*', *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, *Akbarnama* and *Ain-i-Akbari*, called her Haji Begum except Gulbadan, who referred her as Bega Begum. She was eagerly interested to support education. When she constructed her husband's tomb close to Delhi in 1570 A.D. she also established a madrasa close to it.¹⁵⁵

We come across politically ambitious women from the time when Central Asian women played a great role in war and politics. In Timur's army there were several courageous and women warriors, they were used bows, spears and swords.¹⁵⁶ The similar condition of women can be marked in Chingiz Khan's time too.

At the period of Babur the Mughal women interfered in politics. Babur in his memoirs wrote that the time when his younger brother Jahangir Mirza plotted against him and joined hands with Tambal. Babur and his men fought and prevailed against them. At that time paternal grandmother of Babur, Shah Sultan Begum arrived in Babur's camp from Andijan to seek pardon for Jahangir Mirza if he had been captured.¹⁵⁷

Hamida Bano and her son Akbar have come with Humayun to Kabul. She did not come with her husband, when Humayun set out for Hindustan in November 1554 A.D. She was conclusive with her son Akbar in 1557 A.D. (964 A.H.). From then onwards she was always with her son and continued contributed to political affairs. She died in 1604 A.D. (1013 A.H.) at the age of seventy-seven.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵²Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, Asia Pub. House, Bombay, 1962, p. 92.

¹⁵³ S.K. Banerji, *Some of the Women relation of Babur*, Indian Culture 4, (1937-38), p. 55

¹⁵⁴*Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 107.

¹⁵⁵Islahi, Zafrul Islam, *Talim-Ahd-e-Islami ke Hindustan mein*, Azamgarh, 2007, p. 121.

¹⁵⁶J. H. Sanders, Tr., *Tamerlane or Timur The Great Amir-from the Arabic Life by Ahmad Ibn Arab Shah*, Luzac and Co., London, 1936, p.324.

¹⁵⁷*Baburnama*, p. 113.

¹⁵⁸*Humayunnama*, pp. 240-41 (notes).

The second important lady at the time of Humayun was Khanzada Begam, aunt of Humayun and elder sister of Babur. We have already studied how she played a great political role at the time of Babur. Khanzada Begum was also conferred the title of Padshah Begum.¹⁵⁹ During the period of Humayun, she honoured the first woman in the royal harem.

The system of the *purdah* (veil), in one form or another, had become a common feature of Indian femininity in those days. *Purdah* was generally celebrated by Muslim women, and by certain classes of Hindu women, especially those belonging to upper and well-to-do classes. The vast masses of peasant women wore no shroud or veil of a specific kind and did not confine themselves to their homes.¹⁶⁰ The higher sections of Hindu Women also appeared to have examined *Purdah* strictly.¹⁶¹ The arrival of Turkish rule follows the adoption of the *Purdah* system by the ruling families of Hindus and with the arrival of Turkish rule it gained a strong impetus due to the culture and example of the conquerors.¹⁶²

It is said that Muslims were responsible for the enlargement of *purdah* system in India. In ancient times, women examined a certain veil or *ghoonghat*, but *purdah* dates back to the period of Muslim rule.¹⁶³ De Laet inscribed that *purdah* was observed mainly by the Muslim ladies and it was not so strict with the Hindu ladies.¹⁶⁴

The mother's place in society was the most respected. Mohammedan religion also gave great importance to the mother. Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said, "Paradise lies at the feet of the mother." The modern records illustrate that from the king down to the peasant, all had the most respect for the mother. The Mughals brought their traditions and culture. His women enjoyed a position of great honour. Babur loved his step-grandmother, aunt and other elderly women of the harem. Humayun had great respect for the ladies. He was particularly fond of his sisters, whom he often remembered during his ill health.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ Baburnama, pp. 314-15.

¹⁶⁰ P. N. Ojha, *Glimpses of Social Life in Mughal India*, p. 62.

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁶² M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Mughals (1526-1700 A.D.)*, Chugh Publication-Allahabad, p. 87.

¹⁶³ K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the people of Hindustan (1200-1526)*, op. cit., pp. 136-140.

¹⁶⁴ De Laet; *The Empire of the Great Mughal*, p. 81.

¹⁶⁵ *Humayunnama*, p. 104.

Women took an active part in politics and administration during Babur's reign. Ahsan Daulat Begum gave valuable assistance in Babur's administration. She was a wise and visionary woman.¹⁶⁶ Babur's mother Qutlug Nigar Khanam, was always with him in his wars and his Shia wife Maham Begum took an active part in the administration. Babar's other wife, Bibi Mubarika, strengthened his grip in Afghanistan.¹⁶⁷

During Humayun's rule, Khanzada Begum held an important place in Harem and was given the title of *Badshah Begum*. He was consulted by Humayun in complex family matters, who had great faith in her. Gulbadan Begum took a keen interest in political affairs and greatly influenced Humayun. Humayun forever addressed her as the 'Dearest lady.'¹⁶⁸ Haram Begum, wife of Humayun's Cousin Sulaiman Mirza,¹⁶⁹ also took an eager interest in administration. She assisted Humayun in his Balkh campaign by collecting a strong army.¹⁷⁰ She also stimulated her husband Mirza Sulaiman to make an effort to seize the fort of Kabul in 1566 A.D. She demonstrated dexterity and ability in the administration of the kingdom and the organization of the army.

Ishwari Prasad expressed, "Rani Karmavati, wife of Rana Sanga, also played a vital role in the politics during the reign of Humayun. When Bahadur Shah of Gujrat threatened an invasion of Mewar, the political situation became worse. Rani Karmavati who had tact, ability and political foresight, sent a bracelet (Rakhi) to Humayun and appealed for help but she could not get any substantial help from him."¹⁷¹ In the second assault of Chittor in 1535 A.D. by Bahadur Shah, she performed *Jauhar* as she could not rescue the fort. Bahadur Shah occupied the fort on March 8, 1535, A.D.¹⁷² The very important role of Rani Karmavati in the politics of Mewar shows her capability and interest in politics.

Chitnis expressed, "There was no free social intercourse of men and women. The upper and middle-class ladies were forbidden to indulge in dancing and music. Some ladies belonging to the royal dynasty or the aristocratic class wielded much influence in

¹⁶⁶ *Baburnama*, p. 43.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 375.

¹⁶⁸ *Humayunnama*, p. 103.

¹⁶⁹ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 212.

¹⁷⁰ *Humayunnama*, p. 195.

¹⁷¹ Ishwari Prasad, *Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 65.

¹⁷² G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors (1526-1707 A.D.)*, op. cit., pp. 55-57

politics. The Afghan ladies, like their Rajput counter-parts, distinguished themselves in the defence of their lands.¹⁷³

A study of polygamy naturally leads us to the 'Harem' created by the Mughal emperors and the aristocracy. The Imperial Harem, with a large enclosure, consisted of beautiful buildings, where the emperor, women of the regal family, as well as selected nobles of high ranks, resided.¹⁷⁴

M.A. Ansari expressed that "In our period of review, the *Harem* portion in the palace of the Emperor, is called *Mahal*, both by the chroniclers of the time and the European travellers. Abul Fazl has given it a more appropriate name *Shabistan-i-Iqbal* or *Shabistan-i-Khas*. The Emperor never stayed permanently at the capital. He led important expeditions; he went on pleasure trips to different parts of the country. Thus he had to spend a part of his journey under the canvas. The Harem usually followed him and had to be accommodated in the camp. Their respective quarter at the station, and in the camp, from the two different aspects of the Mughal *Harem* life, and their life in the town and the country."¹⁷⁵

A reference in *Humayunnama* of Gulbadan Begum illustrated that Sultanam, the wife of Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa Barlas, visited Mecca along with Gulbarg Begum.¹⁷⁶ Bega Begum, the wife of Humayun was permitted to go on pilgrimage to the holy places and Akbar organized it by providing all requirements. Alanquwa,¹⁷⁷ the mythical lady ancestor of Chingiz Khan played a significant part in the early history of the Mughals.

5.7 Education

Education is an important feature of a civilized society. Hence the need for this was felt in almost every era. In the early 13th century, the influence of Persian culture in all countries was written in Persian and the historical literature of the period reflects the spirit of the Renaissance.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³K. N. Chitnis, *Socio-Economic History of Medieval India*, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2002, p. 86.

¹⁷⁴P. N. Ojha, *Glimpses of Social Life in Mughal India*, p. 67.

¹⁷⁵M. A. Ansari, *Socio-Cultural Life of the Great Mughals (1526-1707 A.D.)*, op.cit., p. 93.

¹⁷⁶*Humayunnama*, p. 169.

¹⁷⁷Annemarie Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals*, Oxford University Press, London, 2005, p. 144

¹⁷⁸Muhammad Qamruddin, *Society and Culture in Early Medieval India (721-1526)*, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 64-65

Srivastava expressed, “*Pathshalas* and *Maktabas* were the primary institutions where a beginner used to come. The beginner would receive his first lesson there in the alphabet from a *pandit* or a *moulvi*. *Maktabas* were very common during the Mughal period. Elementary education was thus imparted in maktabas often attached to mosques.”¹⁷⁹

Special arrangements were made for imparting religious education. However, the Islamic educational centre *Madaris* in northern India started during the conquest of the Turks.¹⁸⁰

N.N. Law expressed, “In such household *Makatib* the girls were apart from religious education also given the training of cooking, sewing, embroidery work together with other domestic works. The lady teachers would also train them in ethical and moral teaching.”¹⁸¹

There are references in modern sources that during the reign of the Mughal emperors, there were religious schools that imparted education in theology, elementary philosophy, mathematics as well as practical training in school etiquette and ethics. Such works as the *Panchtantra*, *Nitishatak* of *Bhartrihari*, *Gulistan*, and *Bostan* of *Sadi* were very prevalent and almost universally studied.¹⁸²

Hindu education, during the Mughal era, was imparted primarily through agencies like *Tols* *pathshalas* and private tutors. Further, the academic debates and discussions among learned scholars, in which some others also took part from time to time, the poetical symposia and the ‘*Kirtans*’ also significantly assisted the cause of prevalent education and modification. The Brahmins had practically monopolised the teaching profession.¹⁸³ Hindu boys began their first academic lessons in life, generally after attaining the age of five years, by writing the words “Om” or “Sri”, or “Hari” with chalk (*khari*) (or the ceremony of taking the chalk on the hand) and it shaped an important and interesting stage in a student’s career.

¹⁷⁹M. P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals*(1526-1707A.D.), p.110.

¹⁸⁰ S.M. Azizuddin Hussain, (ed), *Madrasa Education in India (11th to 12th Century)*, New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers, 2005, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1973, pp. 97, 98

¹⁸²P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1973, p.104.

¹⁸³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 127.

Babur, the first of the great Mughals of India, who had almost the same praise of scholars as an autobiographer, poet, and prose writer, was, in fact, one of the greatest scholars of his time. Apart from his famous Memoirs, Babur had many other claims of scholarly distinction and many useful and scholarly credits were given to his name.¹⁸⁴

In the year 1504, he introduced a kind of script known as 'Baburi', in which he translated a copy of the Quran and sent it to the Sharif of Mecca. A literary figure himself, he lived in a scholarly company and learned men, and thus, he patronized those who wanted his help and encouragement. The names of Khwandmir, Maulana Shahabuddin and Mirza Ibrahim of Herat may be mentioned in this connection with men of such letters who were in contact with them and were rewarded and encouraged by them.¹⁸⁵

When Babur captured the library of Milwat Fort Ghazi Khan, he came into his hands. Historians present it as a fine collection and applaud Babur in terms of glitter. But Babur's own words are tame and sober; "I examined Ghazi Khan's library, and found in it several valuable books. Some of them I gave to Humayun and some I sent to Kamran. There were also many theological books, but I did not, on the whole, find so many books of value as from their appearance had I expected."¹⁸⁶

Emperor Humayun was also a well-educated and highly skilled man. He was a master of Turk, Arabic and Persian and was very fond of literature, poetry, philosophy and theology and had a special fascination for astronomy, astrology, geography, and mathematics, and was unrivalled in epics. The scholars who mostly formed his interest in the learning of the scientific subjects were Shaikh Abul Qasim Amrabadi, Mulla Nuruddin and celebrated astronomer Maulana Ilyas, all being reputed specialists of the day in their relevant branches of learning. Not only a great scientist but also a scholar, Humayun deserves high admire. Unlike his father, he was the emperor of a literary tendency more than an administrative bent. Since childhood he was very fond of books and retained this taste till the last.¹⁸⁷

At a minimum, a passing reference should also be made to libraries maintained by Mughal Emperors and nobles. The Mughal Emperors, in that period, were generally

¹⁸⁴P.N.Ojha, *Glimpses of Social Life in Mughal India*, p.46.

¹⁸⁵P.N.Ojha, *Glimpses of Social Life in Mughal India*, p. 46.

¹⁸⁶*Baburnama*, pp.171-172.

¹⁸⁷P.N.Ojha, *Glimpses of Social Life in Mughal India*, p.46.

interested in collections of valuable and rare books in their libraries. In his early career as a writer, Babur was greatly assisted by one of the ministers of Sultan Hussain of Herat, who established a valuable library for almost all the best work of the time, and put Babur in his charge was kept.¹⁸⁸ This library, perhaps, fascinated him the most, and it instilled in the heart of the young Babur the desire to build a rich library of his own. Perhaps, it was an ideal before Babur, who, at a later stage, developed a great hobby for books and established his own library, as stated in his Memoir.¹⁸⁹

Babur, fond of books, is also clear from the fact that when he captured Milwat and gained control of Ghazi Khan's library, he pulled out some books from it and gifted it to his son Humayun and some others to his sent to another son, Kamran. He writes in his Memoirs thus: "I went into Ghazi Khan's book room: some of the precious things found in it, I gave to Humayun, some sent to Kamran (in Qandahar). There were many books of learned contents, but not so many valuable ones, as had at first appeared."¹⁹⁰

Humayun, a great scholar, and scientist had little interest in studies and research. His passion for books and scholars was cosmic. He considered good books to be his 'real companions'.¹⁹¹ He appointed Turkish Admiral, Sidi Ali Rais, for his geographical research. When there was such a passion for study and research, it was natural that he would have developed a fine library of his own to help his scholars carry out their scientific researches,¹⁹² Jauhar, his loyal servant informed us that the emperors carried a few select and favourite books with them even during their campaigns.

During Humayun's Gujarat expedition, while he was camping at Cambay, some forest and hill tribes attacked his camp at night and in the confusion and loot that followed, "many rare books which were his real companions and were always kept in his Majesty's personal possession, were lost."¹⁹³ Abul Fazl continued: "Among those were the *Timurnama*, transcribed by Mulla Sultan Ali and illustrated by Ustad Bihzad....."¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸ Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians; the Muhammadan period*, Vol. IV, pp. 141,143.

¹⁸⁹ *Baburnama*, p. 619.

¹⁹⁰ *Baburnama*, p. 460.

¹⁹¹ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 309.

¹⁹² *Humayunnama*, p. 124.

¹⁹³ *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 309.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

A madarsa was opened by Humayun at Delhi, in which Sheikh Hussaini was a professor.¹⁹⁵ Humayun's tomb was also once used as a madrasa. Car Stephen inscribed, "The College which is on the roof of the tomb, was at one time an institution of some importance and men of learning and influence used to be appointed to the charge of the place."¹⁹⁶

Srivastava expressed, "Delhi was an old educational centre and during the Mughal rule many new institutions were founded there. On the bank of Jamuna Humayun built a school in honour of Zainuddin Khafi."¹⁹⁷

In the Mughal harem, the first woman was a master of Turki and a Persian Babur's daughter, Gulbadan Begum. She actively involved herself in literary activities. She often composed verses. She used to collect books and thus had a library of her own.¹⁹⁸ Babur's second daughter Gulrukh Begum was also fond of poetry and wrote many verses. Another woman in the field of literary discovery was Salima Sultan Begum, niece of Emperor Humayun. She composed verses and was a master of Persian. She had also built a library of her own.

However the Afghan women followed 'purdah' and had a great inclination towards education. Also, in the middle classes, the girls were usually taught how to recite the *Quran* as well as *Persian*.¹⁹⁹

5.8 Painting

The most important of the artistically active Muslim dynasties were the Mughals, who ruled from 1526–1858 and virtually unified the subcontinent. The Mughals also profoundly changed the character of painting in the Hindu regions of North India. These early independent territories were ruled by Rajputs, warrior caste Hindus.

Rajasthani School of Painting developed in the 16th century and new centres of painting were established in almost all the capital cities of Rajasthan.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ M.P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals*(1526-1707A.D.), p.121.

¹⁹⁶ Car Stephen, *Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, Allahabad, Kitab Mahal, 1967, p. 207, cited in: M.P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals*(1526-1707A.D.),p.121.

¹⁹⁷ M.P. Srivastava, *Social Life under the Great Mughals*(1526-1707A.D.),pp.125-126.

¹⁹⁸ *Humayunnama*, p.76.

¹⁹⁹ I. H. Siddiqui, *Islamic Learning and Intellectual thought of the Sultanate of Delhi during the Lodi Period*, Hamdard Islamicus, (Karachi), 1987,pp. 57-83

²⁰⁰ Jagat Vir Singh Agre, *Treatment of Human Figure in Rajasthani Miniature Painting (XIII-XVII century)*, p. 4

Mughal painting is not only one of the great schools in the history of world art, but the most comprehensive source of the visual construction of our country's life and manners before modern times. The painter's field embraced not only the court and the people but also the environment. Animals and plants became favourite subjects of study by Mughal artists.

Since the Mughal painter was eager to fill his picture with the greatest volume, and draw it as much as possible from real life, the total amount of evidence on material culture that he wrote on paper is exceptionally large.²⁰¹

The depiction of trees in Mughal painting is close to nature and is quite diverse. Special species of trees are depicted in miniatures in various copies of the *Baburnama*.²⁰²

Ansari expressed, "To Babur's court was attached no painter of repute, but there is evidence to prove that artists followed Humayun in his wanderings. Jawahar records an anecdote. Humayun was bathing within an enclosure when he discovered a bird, which attracted his fancy. He caught it, cut the feathers of its wings, called the painters and ordered them to preserve its likeness on the paper."²⁰³

Hamz-Nama is a fusion of Persian, Indian and Central Asian traditions. The leading artists brought from Iran by Akbar's father Humayun were Persian; the place of production was India and most of the supporting cast were Indians; the medium of painting on cotton was inherited from Central Asia. The Persian style passed into Indian paintings when Humayun brought two painters with him from Persia to India.²⁰⁴

Mulk Raj Anand expressed, "Humayun took refuge in the court of Shah Tahmasp of Persia. Here he re-equipped an army and waited patiently for his return. During his leisure hours, he acquired a love of painting, which was flourishing in Persia under Shah Tahmasp, after it had achieved great heights in the Herat workshops of Bihzad and his followers under Sultan Hussain Mirza. And he took two Persian masters, Mir Sayyid Ali and Khwaja Abdus Samad, to Kabul and then to India with him."²⁰⁵

²⁰¹S. P. Verma, *Art and Material Culture as represented in the Paintings of Akbar's Court*, Delhi, 1978, cited in: S. P. Verma, *Technology in Mughal India—Evidence of Mughal Painting*, p. 1.

²⁰²Muhammad Afzal Khan, Catalogue: *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Life, An Exhibition of Mughal Miniatures* at faculty of Arts Annexe, 7-10 October, 2000, p. iii.

²⁰³M.A. Ansari, *Socio-Cultural Life of the Great Mughals (1526-1707 A.D.)*, p. 231.

²⁰⁴Ahsan Jan Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture (A.D. 1498-1707)*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1982, p. 85.

²⁰⁵Mulk Raj Anand, *Album of Indian Paintings*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1973, p. 84.

Two painters, Mir Syed Ali Judai of Tabriz and Khwaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz, who were also poets, have already been mentioned. These two were common to the two sovereigns. Khwaja Abdus Samad was entitled Shirin Kalam by Humayun and was appointed Master of the Mint by Akbar in 985/1577. He was particularly distinguished as a portrait painter.²⁰⁶ The painting was closely associated with poetry and literature.

Milo Cleveland Bleach expressed, “The painters Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdus Samad joined Humayun in Kabul in 1550, followed soon by Mir Musavvir and Dust Muhammad. The illustrations that these men made there are among the earliest identifiable imperial Mughal paintings. They, of course, brought knowledge of the latest Iranian artistic techniques and styles to Humayun’s court, and as former members of the Shah’s entourage, their acceptance of the Mughal’s patronage must have seemed fitting acknowledgement to Humayun of his own(although temporarily suspended) imperial rank.”²⁰⁷

Both Humayun and Kamran assigned artists, and books related to Akbar's mother Hamida Banu Begum have also survived. Babur must also have patronized artists, although no direct visual or literary evidence has been found for this. A library would have been expected of any ruling Muslim household, and instead of a simple repository, they often worked as resident employees of book-making centres as well as paper-makers, calligraphers, illuminators, gilders, illustrators, and binders. Books were often presented or exchanged on formal occasions and formed a desirable part of the spoils of war.²⁰⁸

In his active and very constructive Memoirs, the *Baburnama* (History of Babur), the emperor himself illustrated an episode in his triumphant battle against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of Delhi in 1526: “After spending two nights on the rise, I inspected the fort. I went into Ghazi Khan’s book room; some of the precious things found in it, I gave to Humayun, some sent to Kamran . . . There were many books of learned contents.”²⁰⁹ Books are seen as both rare items and objects of luxury especially were seen as evidence of wealth and power, when specially decorated or painted. They also catered to more

²⁰⁶ SH. Abdul Aziz, *The Imperial Library of the Mughals*, op. cit., p. 35.

²⁰⁷ Milo Cleveland Bleach, *The New Cambridge History of India I:3 Mughal and Rajput Painting*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 1992, p. 16.

²⁰⁸ Milo Cleveland Bleach, *The New Cambridge History of India I:3 Mughal and Rajput Painting*, op. cit., p. 18.

²⁰⁹ *Baburnama*, p. 460.

personal tastes, and an even more convincing reason to believe that Babur patronized painters has their own visual sensitivity and love of close observation.

Accounts of Humayun's reign explain the elaborate decoration of the palace and its gardens through the great Mystic Feast celebrated soon after that emperor's accession in 1530. Turkish and European cloths decorated the walls of rooms that were "the envy of Chinese picture galleries."²¹⁰ And further, "In the second room, called the House of Good Fortune, and oratory had been arranged, and books placed, and gilded pen-cases and splendid portfolios and entertaining picture books (*muraqqa*) written in beautiful character."²¹¹

Milo Cleveland Bleach expressed, "The Humayun period turban on the young princely hunter, the distant fortress, and the nearby river all correspond to the event as described in the verbal passage. This is therefore a documentary image of a historical subject, and there is no reason to doubt that it was painted at the time of the hunt. Mughal's historical painting with its profusion of specific details and lively interplay of actions and personalities was therefore initiated by the time of Humayun's rule, no surprise when the Emperor was already commissioning visual records of interesting fauna."²¹²

The attempt to fuse the Persian and Indian styles is not very successful in fabric painting like the cloth painting of the *Hamza-Namah* initiated by Humayun but was actually started by Akbar when he founded the king, about 1567 A.D.²¹³

Mulk Raj Anand expressed, "In the *Tuti Nama* (Tales of a Parrot) painted, in 1565-1580 A.D. about the same time as the first *Hamza* pictures, the hand of the Hindu painters is clearly evident. *The Parrot at Court* by the prolific Basavan brings Rajasthani buildings to the fore on a flat plane with emphasis on the emotions of the characters in the drama, individualising the features of personages."²¹⁴

In the *Baburnama*, painted under Akbar, probably from 1560 onwards, a painting showing Babar laying the garden on the banks of the Jamna in Agra, perhaps the Aram Bagh, where he rested during his stay in the capital.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, pp. 64-65.

²¹¹ *Humayunnama*, p. 124.

²¹² Milo Cleveland Bleach, *The New Cambridge History of India I:3 Mughal and Rajput Painting*, p.20.

²¹³ Mulk Raj Anand, *Album of Indian Paintings*, op. cit., p. 87.

²¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 89.

²¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.93.

In holistically portraying the human form, Indian artists betrayed almost complete ignorance of scientific anatomy, even though Indian art, at least in sculpture, has had a long tradition of nude figures. Mughal paintings clearly depicted the human form in the context of muscular articulation.²¹⁶

Despite the difficult campaign he had to undertake after the Battle of Panipat, the artists reproduced a passionate love for the gardens, which thrilled Babur. The emperor's aesthetic charm, reproduced in his Memoirs, shows a fine sensibility that must have inspired his grandson Akbar for his vision of cultured life.²¹⁷

The utility, tools and equipment depicted in the pictures tell us about the level of technology. Pin-drum gearing, belt-drive, pulley, capstan, worm-gearing, crank-handle, screw, bow-drill, bellow, syringe, distillation, and filtration are the principle represented through various tools, instruments, and equipment.²¹⁸

A scene set in rural areas may depict cultivator ploughing or drawing water from a well. Where some miniatures describe the construction of a fort or building, they show masons, carpenters, stonecutters, and iron-smiths with their tools and equipment, which are quite important in the foreground.²¹⁹

Emperor Babur in his Memoir has described the appearances and figures of many animals, who never ordered painters to make their photographs. The depiction of trees in Mughal painting is close to nature and is quite diverse. Special species of trees are depicted in miniatures in various copies of the *Baburnama*.²²⁰

5.9 Music

Music is an art that awakened or expressed the mental feelings of man. The taste for music or lyrics is universal and can be found everywhere. New notes were introduced with the arrival of the Turks, and, Indian music, like painting and architecture, prospered in their composition and scope.²²¹

Abul Fazl wrote about the talisman of music, "It sometimes causes the beautiful creatures of the Harem of heart to shine forth on the tongue, and sometimes appears in

²¹⁶A.J. Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture*, op. cit., p. 92.

²¹⁷Mulk Raj Anand, *Album of Indian Paintings*, p. 93.

²¹⁸*Human and Wild Life in Mughal Painting*, Exhibition, 9-10 November 1991, Faculty of Arts Annexe, Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University, p. 2.

²¹⁹*Human and Wild Life in Mughal Painting*, Exhibition, op. cit., p. 2.

²²⁰ibid., p. 12.

²²¹M. A. Ansari, *Socio-Cultural Life of the Great Mughals (1526-1707A.D.)*, p. 217.

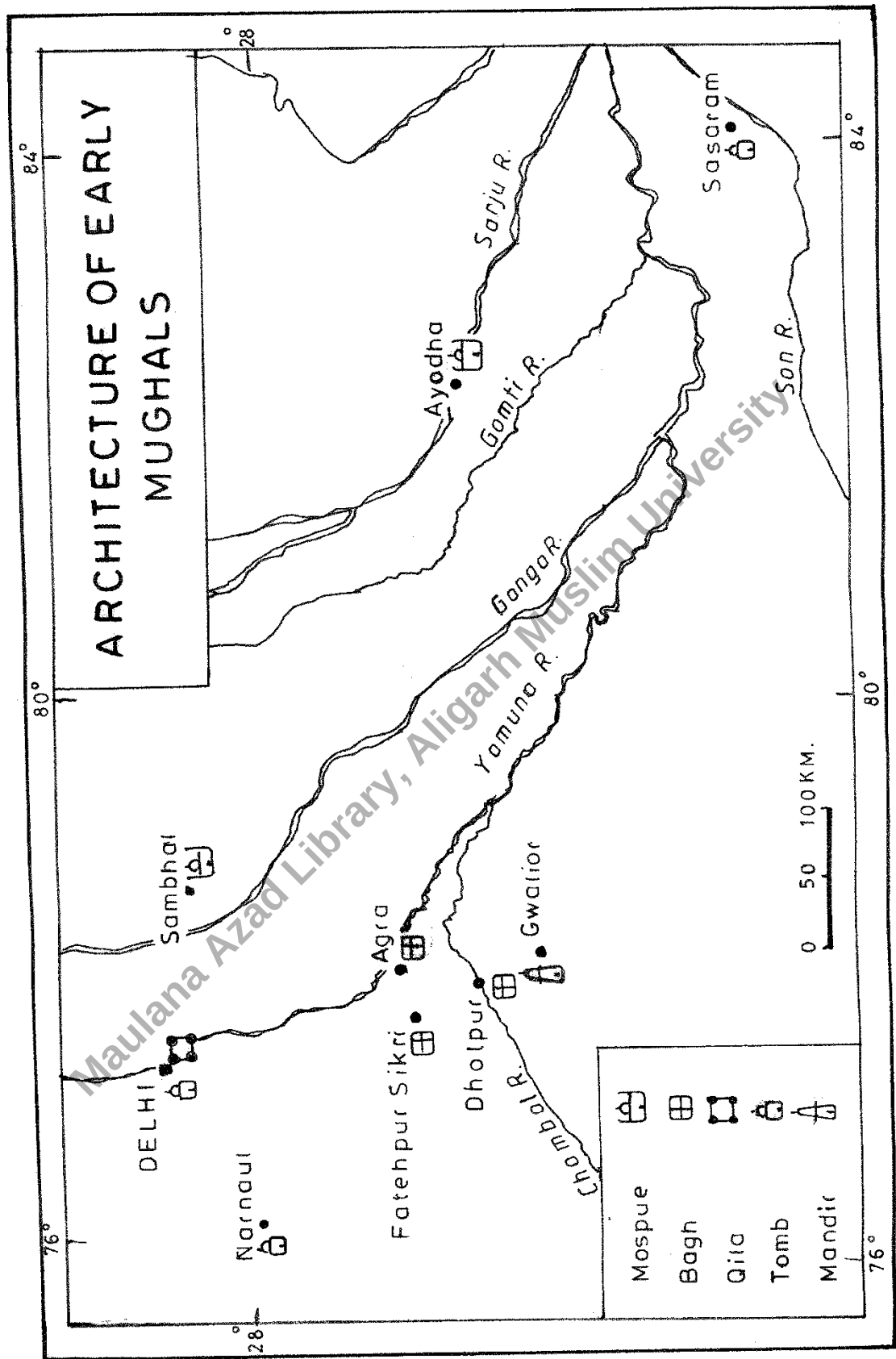
solemn strains using the hand and the chord. The melodies then enter through the windows of the ear, and then return to their normal seat, the heart, bringing with them thousands of presents. The hearers, according to their insight, are moved to sorrow or joy. Music is thus of use to those who have renounced the world as well as to such as still cling to it.”²²²

In Central Asia, Khorasan and Iran, Timurides patronized music. Sultan Hussain Mirza's court had many musicians, reciters, lutanists, flautists, and guitar and dulcimer players. The Mughal emperor Babur himself excelled in music and composed songs. He complemented his wine parties with music. His son Humayun enjoyed a book and song with tasty food and liquor bottles with liquor.²²³

Our study enabled us to conclude that the salient features of Indian social life during the early Mughal period. The Mughals brought a new principle to India. They were descendants of Timur and Chingiz. The Mughals established a cultural state in India; A state in which the cooperation of local residents played an important role. The Mughals celebrated festivals. His contribution to the country's cultural wealth, such as architecture, painting, and education in any region, does not have a beneficial character. They were more Indian than foreigners in their dress, manner of eating and even their court etiquette.

²²²ibid.

²²³*Baburnama*, p. 388.



CONCLUSION

Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University

Babur, Humayun and a large number of their nobles were outsiders to India. This nation changed to its benefit and concern after some time. They started connecting with Indian culture. The Mughal Empire was a symbol of both the political and socio culture of medieval India.

In this manner, conclude this explorative investigation of the Establishment of the Mughal Empire. The Mughal Empire was an extraordinary era which has given India an exceptionally rich and honourable history. Babur was a wonderful general and great ruler. He did not charge well in Asia's government issues and his Afghanistan victory was not sublime. It was only his achievement in India that made him an important ruler.

Babur was a ruler who was adorned with the achievements and outstanding qualities of every feature, courage and valour prevalent. The Mughal Empire was an incredible period which has given India a rich and respectable history. Babur was a brilliant general and practical ruler.

He was in vogue for the royal post of Farghana, a small state in Central Asia. After at some point he lost his kingdom and had to remain in a state of exile. His opponents fought among themselves and he turned to this open door in their support, capturing the realm of Kabul.

Babur had the option of winning his home state Farghana and Samarqand again however; this satisfaction was becoming fleeting for him. He was again driven out of his home by his Uzbek opponents. Babur's achievement in India gave him the place of an important ruler.

In view of losing his (Babur) empire in Central Asia, he was greeted by Rana Sanga and Daulat Khan Lodi, the Muslim legislative head of Punjab, for a fight against Ibrahim Lodi in the region of Panipat on April 21, 1526, and the battle was referred in Indian History to as Panipat's primary skirmish. This battle negated his victory over Delhi. Babur was the chief head of cannons in India. Furthermore, it transformed Indian history into the Mughal Empire for eternity.

He then faced another decisive struggle with Rana Sanga and with this Babur turned into an inept leader of northern India. Babur faced four conflicts in India and was successful in each battle.

Babur as a ruler does not take a prominent place in the old times of his motherland, Farghana. But Babur placed the initial stone at the base of the Mughal Empire. Thus his position in Indian history is that of a conqueror and the founding-stone of the grand Mughal Empire. Although the duration of his life days in India was squat and he was often concerned about his military campaigns, he took over to get the time to focus his attention on examining the portrait of Hindustan.

Therefore we can say that when Babur was trying to expand his realm, during this period Humayun envisaged on 17 March 1508. Humayun came to a position of authority after his father passed away in 1530. Humayun was required to face two rebels: one from Bahadur Shah from Gujarat and the other from Sher Shah Suri. Humayun was crushed by Sher Shah in 1539 after Chausa won again in Kannauj in 1540. Humayun fled to Agra, forced to stop the war zone.

Humayun was groomed as an observer and a warrior; He was unable to keep pace with the rapidly changing political opportunities in northern India. Humayun was looking more towards opium and crystal than political force. The second Mughal ruler was tested by his more young brothers and Afghan officials, who served under his father. His opponents were not Hindus, but rather his own Muslims.

Humayun would not attack individual Muslims captured along with the war with the Hindus. In addition, he despised the Hindu sanctuaries at Kalinjar. Humayun tried to protect his territory. After extending a definite victory over the Afghans, he expelled Sultan Muhammad Lodi from Jaunpur. He blocked Chunar at that point, which was held by Afghan ruler Sher Shah, and though it remained uninhabited for a long time before that.

After beating Humayun in Chausa and Kannauj, Mirza Kamran became terrible for his brothers. Actually, even Kamran was behaving mysteriously with Sher Shah. He took frequent steps to visit Kabul and refused Humayun to face the issue.

Success in Chausa made Sher Khan the ruler of Bihar and Bengal. He was only ostracized by Gaur when the stronghold of Mughal troops went through Humayun. The ritual was simple, with Sher Khan holding his throne and a regal umbrella placed above his head. He assumed the designation of Sher Shah and the coins were struck and the Khutba was read in his name.

Sher Shah reached Punjab and sent his commander in search of Humayun, and educated him not to capture the Emperor yet to take him out of India. During his boycott in Persia, Humayun's unwavering rival Sher Shah, who had established a vast and wonderful territory, passed in 1545. Islam Shah, Sher Shah's child passed in 1553, the Afghan Empire was on its stand to rot well. Humayun was restless with the recently enlisted militaries to return to India. The loss of Kabul and Qandahar denied Humayun to the most significant nomination of the Mughal armed force.

Sher Shah, the most influential of the Afghans, raised himself as an independent ruler to challenge the Mughal rule. He had united his capacity in Bihar and Bengal. Humayun turned into a destitute maverick, first at that point of Marwar in search of help in Sindh, and then once again in Sindh, as soon as he reached Iran in 1544, Humayun was permitted a military guide by Shah Tahmas I and proceeded to exclude Qandahar (1545) and holding Kabul several times with his backstabbing brother Kamran, the last being in 1550.

Humayun captured Lahore (in present-day Pakistan) in February 1555, boycotting the common wars between Sher Shah's relatives. After conquering Sikandar Sur, the agitating Afghan legislator from Punjab in Sirhind, he rebuilt Delhi and Agra. Humayun was brought down to his library ladder with fatal damage.

The last words spoken by Babur to Humayun are specified in a different way in the history books. However, it is clear that the Emperor advised him not to misbehave with his brothers under any circumstances. It was not early time that Babur told Humayun liberal and benevolent towards Kamran, Askari and Hindal. Humayun bowed low to accept the disappearing sovereign's will, and it is to his admiration that he rewarded his life and his promise on the danger of losing the throne.

Despite his significant goodness, generosity and benevolence towards all, he failed as an Emperor. But fortunately at the end of his life he was successful in achieving the crown of Delhi. He re-established the Mughal Empire.

The Mughals who arrived in India were not only military tyrants. They originated from Central Asia and had a rich social foundation. Their commitment to India's social existence is not diminished in any way, shape or form. In the field of architecture, the Mughal period was displayed as a time of grandeur.

The Mughals were exceptionally friendly to learn and fully supported the spread of education in their domain. The customs of architecture, painting, music, women, education, lifestyle, way of eating, which were created during the Mughal time frame, influenced a standard and profoundly successful eras.

Our investigation empowered us to discover that the striking attractions of Indian social life during the early Mughal period. The Mughals came up with another vision of authority in India. They were the relatives of Timur and Chingiz. The Mughals built a social state in India; a state where the cooperation of neighbourhood dwellers had a significant effect. The Mughals praised the celebrations. Their commitment to the social abundance of the country has no significant character in any circle. In their dress style, way of eating and even in their court decorum they were more Indian than outsiders.

The early Mughals (Babur and Humayun) have contributed a lot to elevate the Mughal Empire since they set an establishment for this. It is difficult to regain any territory once again, yet Humayun faced challenges and re-established the Mughal Empire, so we can say that without the contribution of the early Mughals, the domain was difficult to flourish.

GLOSSARY

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GLOSSARY

<i>Bagh</i>	:	Garden
<i>Bakhshi</i>	:	Under the Mughals, the official who kept the army records and paid the troops
<i>Darbar</i>	:	Ruler's Court
<i>Lungi</i>	:	Long and loose loincloth
<i>Firman</i>	:	A royal order is issued by a ruler
<i>Harem</i>	:	The part of the Muslim Palace reserved for the residence of women
<i>Jashn</i>	:	Celebration
<i>Khanqah</i>	:	An inhabited centre for religious study
<i>Khutba</i>	:	Sermon delivered in the mosque on Fridays. Mention in it of a ruler's name was a declaration of a claim for sovereignty
<i>Padshah</i>	:	Emperor
<i>Pagri</i>	:	Turban
<i>Pargana</i>	:	An administrative unit comprising of a number of villages
<i>Qila</i>	:	Fort
<i>Quran</i>	:	The Islamic Holy Book
<i>Sunni</i>	:	Follower of the Prophet Muhammad
<i>Peshkash</i>	:	Fixed annual Tribute; large present or cash offering
<i>Tun</i>	:	Coats
<i>Tulughma</i>	:	A tactic of battle formation
<i>Akhtabegi</i>	:	Master gelder
<i>Ghazal</i>	:	A short poem, usually on a theme dealing with love
<i>Rubai</i>	:	A verse form of Persian origin consisting of four-line stanza
<i>Ahl-i-Sa'adat</i>	:	Men of Success
<i>Ahl-i-Murad</i>	:	Officers of desire
<i>Jagir</i>	:	The term used during Mughal rule for iqta tenures
<i>Jagirdar</i>	:	The holder of land under the Jagir system
<i>Amin</i>	:	Administrative Officer
<i>Shiqdar</i>	:	Bailiff

<i>Khazanadar</i>	:	Treasure
<i>Muqaddam</i>	:	Headman
<i>Diwan</i>	:	Revenue Officer
<i>Qamargha</i>	:	Event of Imperial Hunt
<i>Ulbagcha</i>	:	Waist-coat
<i>Khwaja</i>	:	A Persian title of respect
<i>Kamarband</i>	:	Waistband
<i>Angiya</i>	:	Blouse
<i>Lahanga or Ghagra</i>	:	Long and loose skirt
<i>Odhani</i>	:	Dupatta
<i>Har</i>	:	Necklace
<i>Nath</i>	:	Nose Ornament
<i>Pan</i>	:	Betel leave
<i>Matbakh</i>	:	The royal kitchen
<i>Khan</i>	:	A Turkish Title
<i>Amir-ul-Umara</i>	:	Literally chief of nobles
<i>Madrassa</i>	:	A school for Islamic Studies, usually associated with a mosque
<i>Sultan</i>	:	King, Ruler
<i>Tuman</i>	:	A unit of 10,000
<i>Ulama</i>	:	Learned man, Scholar
<i>Nishan</i>	:	An order issued by a ruler

PAINTINGS

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ILLUSTRATIONS FROM BABUR'S MEMOIRS

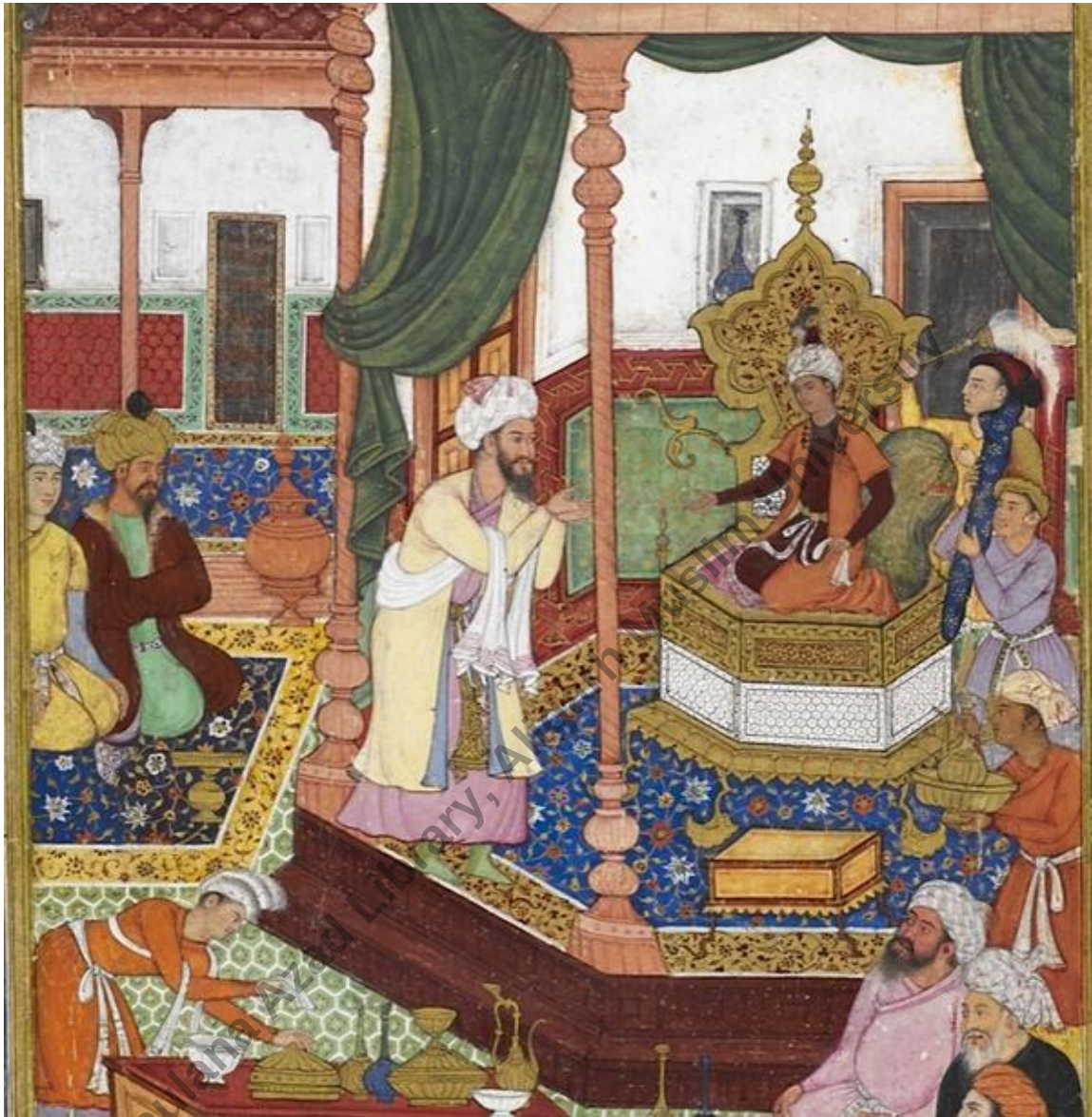


Plate-1

Rotograph.p.2b

Babur's coronation and accession to the throne of Farghana

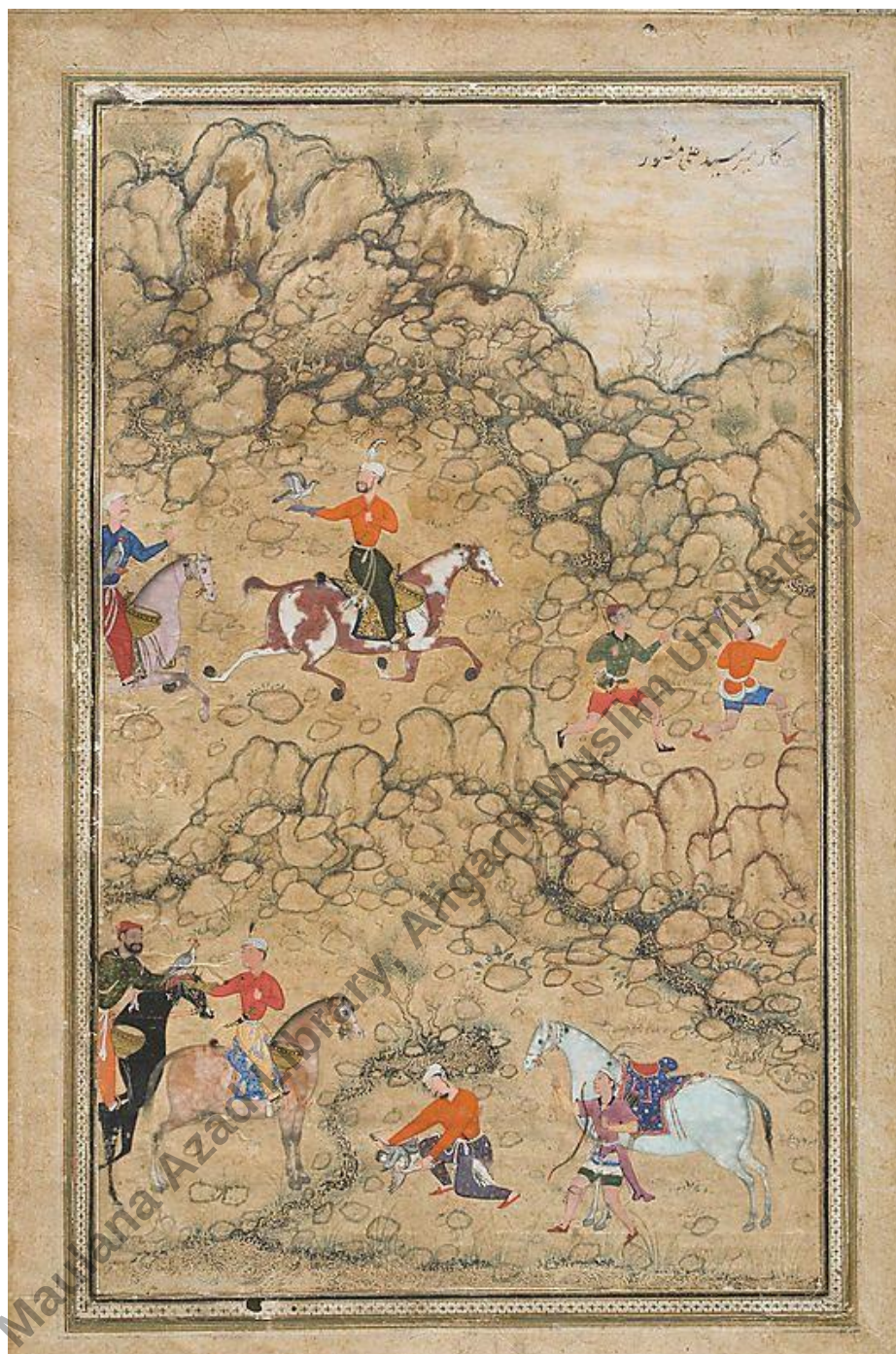


Plate-2

“Hunting scene” attributed to Abdus Samad, Circa1585. Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection. Cited in: edited by Asok Kumar Das, *Mughal Masters Further Studies*, Marg Publications, Mumbai, 1998, p. 14



Plate-3

Rotograph.p.260b

Babur at a feast with Badi'uzzaman Mirza

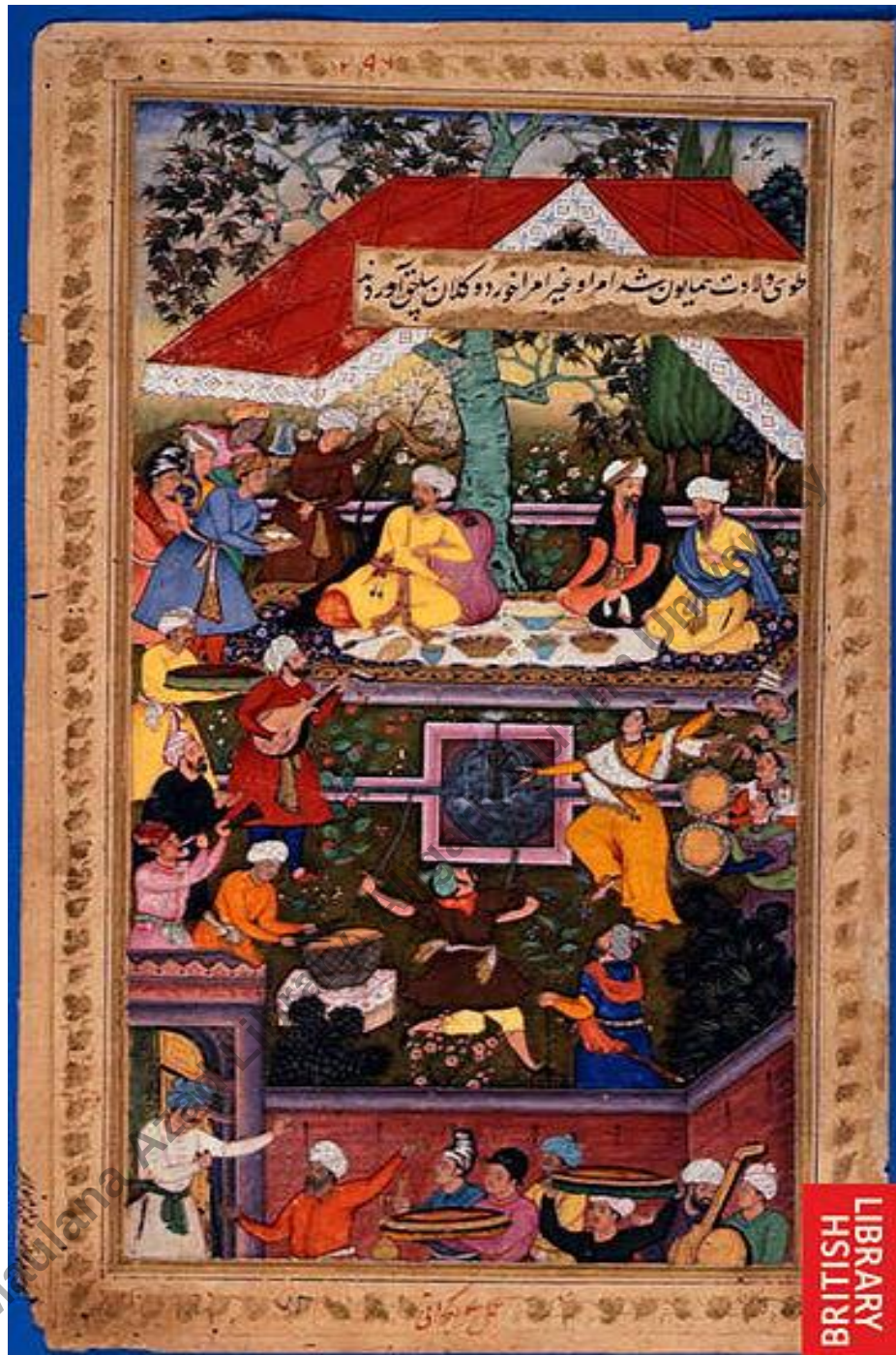


Plate-4
Rotograph.p.295a
Babur celebrates the birth of Humayun at Kabul

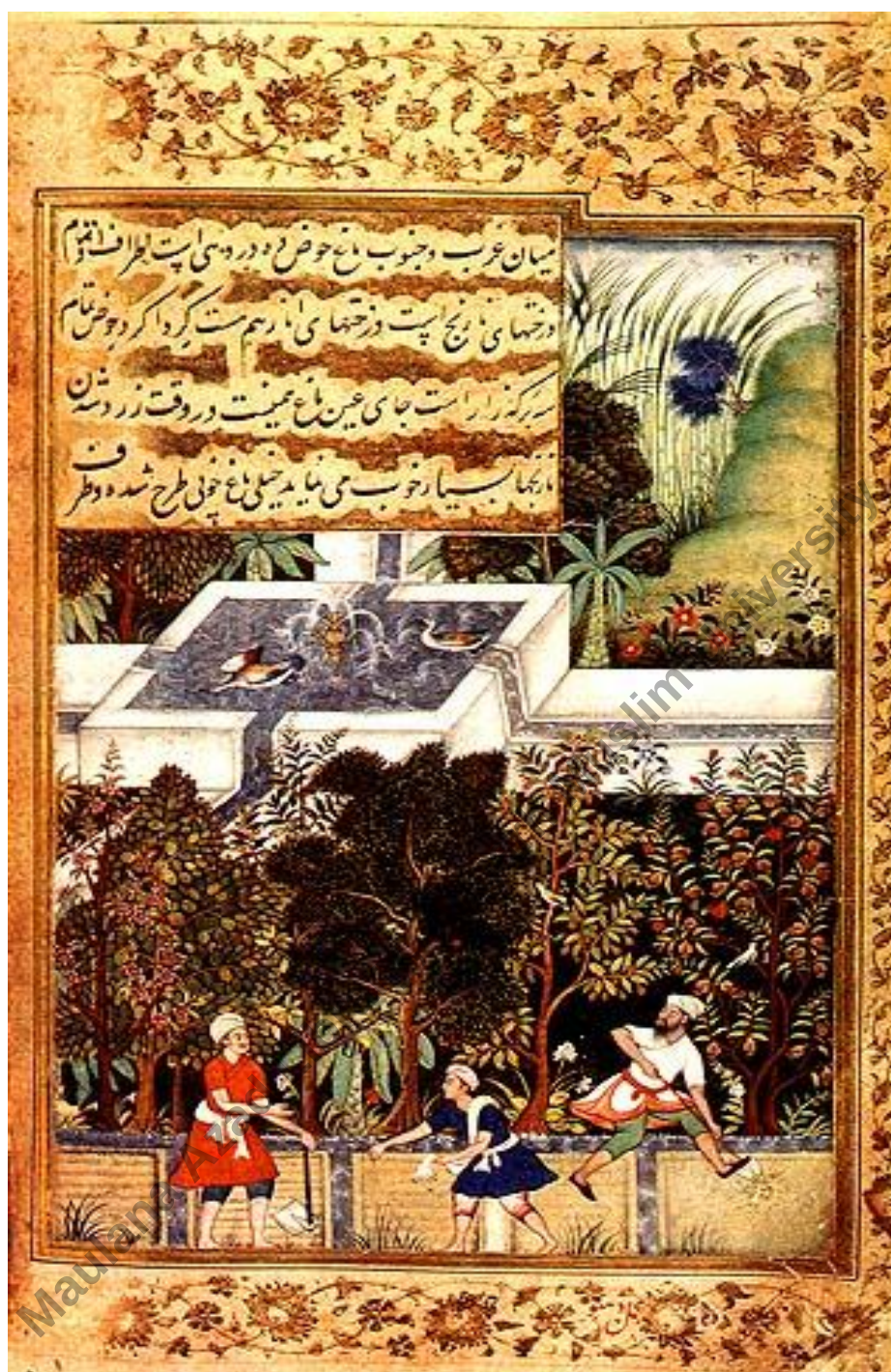


Plate-5

Rotograph.p.173b

The Bagh-i-Wafa garden laid by Babur in Adinapur

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**THE EARLY MUGHALS: POLITICAL AND
CULTURAL INTERACTIONS WITH THE RAJPUTS
AND THE AFGHANS**

THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

**Doctor of Philosophy
IN
HISTORY**

BY

SABISTAN BANO

**UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
PROF. YAQUB ALI KHAN**

**CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)
2020**

CONCLUSION

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Babur, Humayun and a large number of their nobles were outsiders to India. This nation changed to its benefit and concern after some time. They started connecting with Indian culture. The Mughal Empire was a symbol of both the political and socio culture of medieval India.

In this manner, conclude this explorative investigation of the Establishment of the Mughal Empire. The Mughal Empire was an extraordinary era which has given India an exceptionally rich and honourable history. Babur was a wonderful general and great ruler. He did not charge well in Asia's government issues and his Afghanistan victory was not sublime. It was only his achievement in India that made him an important ruler.

Babur was a ruler who was adorned with the achievements and outstanding qualities of every feature, courage and valour prevalent. The Mughal Empire was an incredible period which has given India a rich and respectable history. Babur was a brilliant general and practical ruler.

He was in vogue for the royal post of Farghana, a small state in Central Asia. After at some point he lost his kingdom and had to remain in a state of exile. His opponents fought among themselves and he turned to this open door in their support, capturing the realm of Kabul.

Babur had the option of winning his home state Farghana and Samarqand again however; this satisfaction was becoming fleeting for him. He was again driven out of his home by his Uzbek opponents. Babur's achievement in India gave him the place of an important ruler.

In view of losing his (Babur) empire in Central Asia, he was greeted by Rana Sanga and Daulat Khan Lodi, the Muslim legislative head of Punjab, for a fight against Ibrahim Lodi in the region of Panipat on April 21, 1526, and the battle was referred in Indian History to as Panipat's primary skirmish. This battle negated his victory over Delhi. Babur was the chief head of cannons in India. Furthermore, it transformed Indian history into the Mughal Empire for eternity.

He then faced another decisive struggle with Rana Sanga and with this Babur turned into an inept leader of northern India. Babur faced four conflicts in India and was successful in each battle.

Babur as a ruler does not take a prominent place in the old times of his motherland, Farghana. But Babur placed the initial stone at the base of the Mughal Empire. Thus his position in Indian history is that of a conqueror and the founding-stone of the grand Mughal Empire. Although the duration of his life days in India was squat and he was often concerned about his military campaigns, he took over to get the time to focus his attention on examining the portrait of Hindustan.

Therefore we can say that when Babur was trying to expand his realm, during this period Humayun envisaged on 17 March 1508. Humayun came to a position of authority after his father passed away in 1530. Humayun was required to face two rebels: one from Bahadur Shah from Gujarat and the other from Sher Shah Suri. Humayun was crushed by Sher Shah in 1539 after Chausa won again in Kannauj in 1540. Humayun fled to Agra, forced to stop the war zone.

Humayun was groomed as an observer and a warrior; He was unable to keep pace with the rapidly changing political opportunities in northern India. Humayun was looking more towards opium and crystal than political force. The second Mughal ruler was tested by his more young brothers and Afghan officials, who served under his father. His opponents were not Hindus, but rather his own Muslims.

Humayun would not attack individual Muslims captured along with the war with the Hindus. In addition, he despised the Hindu sanctuaries at Kalinjar. Humayun tried to protect his territory. After extending a definite victory over the Afghans, he expelled Sultan Muhammad Lodi from Jaunpur. He blocked Chunar at that point, which was held by Afghan ruler Sher Shah, and though it remained uninhabited for a long time before that.

After beating Humayun in Chausa and Kannauj, Mirza Kamran became terrible for his brothers. Actually, even Kamran was behaving mysteriously with Sher Shah. He took frequent steps to visit Kabul and refused Humayun to face the issue.

Success in Chausa made Sher Khan the ruler of Bihar and Bengal. He was only ostracized by Gaur when the stronghold of Mughal troops went through Humayun. The ritual was simple, with Sher Khan holding his throne and a regal umbrella placed above his head. He assumed the designation of Sher Shah and the coins were struck and the Khutba was read in his name.

Sher Shah reached Punjab and sent his commander in search of Humayun, and educated him not to capture the Emperor yet to take him out of India. During his boycott in Persia, Humayun's unwavering rival Sher Shah, who had established a vast and wonderful territory, passed in 1545. Islam Shah, Sher Shah's child passed in 1553, the Afghan Empire was on its stand to rot well. Humayun was restless with the recently enlisted militaries to return to India. The loss of Kabul and Qandahar denied Humayun to the most significant nomination of the Mughal armed force.

Sher Shah, the most influential of the Afghans, raised himself as an independent ruler to challenge the Mughal rule. He had united his capacity in Bihar and Bengal. Humayun turned into a destitute maverick, first at that point of Marwar in search of help in Sindh, and then once again in Sindh, as soon as he reached Iran in 1544, Humayun was permitted a military guide by Shah Tahmas I and proceeded to exclude Qandahar (1545) and holding Kabul several times with his backstabbing brother Kamran, the last being in 1550.

Humayun captured Lahore (in present-day Pakistan) in February 1555, boycotting the common wars between Sher Shah's relatives. After conquering Sikandar Sur, the agitating Afghan legislator from Punjab in Sirhind, he rebuilt Delhi and Agra. Humayun was brought down to his library ladder with fatal damage.

The last words spoken by Babur to Humayun are specified in a different way in the history books. However, it is clear that the Emperor advised him not to misbehave with his brothers under any circumstances. It was not early time that Babur told Humayun liberal and benevolent towards Kamran, Askari and Hindal. Humayun bowed low to accept the disappearing sovereign's will, and it is to his admiration that he rewarded his life and his promise on the danger of losing the throne.

Despite his significant goodness, generosity and benevolence towards all, he failed as an Emperor. But fortunately at the end of his life he was successful in achieving the crown of Delhi. He re-established the Mughal Empire.

The Mughals who arrived in India were not only military tyrants. They originated from Central Asia and had a rich social foundation. Their commitment to India's social existence is not diminished in any way, shape or form. In the field of architecture, the Mughal period was displayed as a time of grandeur.

The Mughals were exceptionally friendly to learn and fully supported the spread of education in their domain. The customs of architecture, painting, music, women, education, lifestyle, way of eating, which were created during the Mughal time frame, influenced a standard and profoundly successful eras.

Our investigation empowered us to discover that the striking attractions of Indian social life during the early Mughal period. The Mughals came up with another vision of authority in India. They were the relatives of Timur and Chingiz. The Mughals built a social state in India; a state where the cooperation of neighbourhood dwellers had a significant effect. The Mughals praised the celebrations. Their commitment to the social abundance of the country has no significant character in any circle. In their dress style, way of eating and even in their court decorum they were more Indian than outsiders.

The early Mughals (Babur and Humayun) have contributed a lot to elevate the Mughal Empire since they set an establishment for this. It is difficult to regain any territory once again, yet Humayun faced challenges and re-established the Mughal Empire, so we can say that without the contribution of the early Mughals, the domain was difficult to flourish.